BRITISH EMPIRE
1840 G.K.U.

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translated from the [illegible]

BY

COUNT BJÖRNSTJERNA.

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THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE work, of which we here offer a translation, was published at Stockholm, in the Swedish language, in the year 1838, by Lieut.-General Count Björnstjerna, Knight of the Order of the Seraphim (corresponding with the English Order of the Garter), formerly Chief of the Staff, and at present Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Great Britain. Count Björnstjerna is known as the author of several works which are much esteemed in Sweden, and which relate to the constitutional and representative institutions of that kingdom; to its finances; to its system of taxation; and especially to its military organization and its means of defence.

The great merit of the work before us is that it presents, in the narrowest compass, a clear and com-

to make India better known to the generality of readers, who have hitherto been hindered and deterred from acquiring such knowledge by the immense mass of the materials from which it was to be derived.

H. EVANS LLOYD.

London, April 1840.

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BRITISH EMPIRE IN INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the most extraordinary phenomena in the history of the world we may undoubtedly reckon the origin and progress of the British power in India,* which, within the period of a single century, has risen from the humble rank of a trading factory to the sovereignty of an immense empire, inhabited by 100,000,000 of people, subjects to the British crown,† and an equal number of 100,000,000, who, though still governed by their own native princes, but as sti-

* Strictly speaking in Hindostan and the Deckan, which form the northern and southern parts of the Indian peninsula; the former extending from the Indus and the Himalaya mountains to the river Nerbudda; the latter from this river to Cape Comorin. We may certainly say the East Indies, but it is perhaps less precise, seeing that the eastern of the two great peninsulas of Asia (where the kingdoms of Ava, Pegu, Siam, and Cochin-China are situated) is also included in the general name of the East Indies.

			Inhabitants.
† The Presidency of Bengal		contains	40,000,000
,,	Agra	,,	38,000,000
,,	Madras	,,	15,000,000
,,	Bombay	,,	7,000,000
	Total		100,000,000

*B

pendiary, subsidised, or protected states, are more or less dependent on the British power.* It extends over 1,250,000 English square miles, of the most fertile part of the surface of the earth,† (from 8° to 30° north latitude, and from 68° to 92° east longitude), and consequently extends in latitude as far as from Messina to Tornea, and in longitude as far as from Lisbon to Smolensk, which shows that it cannot be compared with any single state in Europe, either as to extent or population, any more than in difference of climate and temperature, but that it must be compared with Europe itself. This empire has within its boundaries the Gauts and Himalaya mountains, always covered with ice, which rise, the former 13,000, the latter 27,000 feet above the level of the sea; it is intersected by mighty rivers, each of which, the Indus, the Jumna, the Sutledge, the

* Montgomery Martin states, in his valuable work on the British Colonies, which is grounded on authentic documents, that the number of the *direct* subjects of the Anglo-Indian empire amounts to 100,000,000, (see vol. i. page 169, of the edition printed 1835); and estimates the subjects of those states which are more or less dependent on the Company at 100,000,000 more. The latter, however, appears to me less likely to be correct, unless we reckon among the *dependent* princes several who yet consider themselves independent; among whom are the king of Lahore, with 6,000,000, the princes in Bhotan, in Assam, the Amers in Sinde, &c.

The subjects, however, of the directly dependent princes, and those who furnish contingents, amount to more than 50,000,000.

† See Parliamentary Reports for 1831.

Ganges, and the Brahmapootra,* is navigable for 1,500 English miles; and the two last, during certain months, pour into the Bay of Bengal a mass of water amounting to more than 1,000,000,000 cubic feet in an hour.† It has for its defence a standing army excellently disciplined, and nearly as great as that of Austria,‡ and a revenue half

* According to the latest accounts of the source of these gigantic rivers of India, viz. Moorcroft's, Alex. Burnes's, Gerard's, Skinner's, and Jaquemont's, it is partly on the table-land of Thibet (which is 17,000 feet above the surface of the sea), partly from the great lake Mansouru, and partly from the Karakorum mountains to the north of the lake. The four first-mentioned rivers, after having traversed the above-named table-land in several directions, break through the double chain of the Himalaya mountains, by four different passes, or valleys, which themselves lie 15,000 or 16,000 feet above the level of the sea. At this height Dr. Gerard found great beds of muscles and other shells, also mother of pearl, and a kind of before unknown *univalves;* they were found in a bed of broken granite, clay, and calcareous spar (*calcareus inæquabilis*). The Brahmapootra takes a south-east direction from the territories of Thibet, and goes round the whole of the Himalaya, in order, together with the Ganges, to throw itself into the Bay of Bengal.

† According to calculations made by Burnes, during his highly interesting voyage up the Indus (1831), this river discharges 80,000 cubic feet of water in a second, during the dry season, which is four times as much as the Ganges at that time, and is equal to the discharge of the Mississippi.

‡ The Austrian army is 380,000 men; the Anglo-Indian was a few years since, during the Birmese war, with its contingent troops, 390,000; but we shall return to this subject in the sequel.

as large again as that of Russia.* Within its boundaries there are cities, which, like Calcutta, have a population of 1,000,000; others which, like Delhi, Agra, Benares, Lucknow, and Poonah, have from 300,000 to 500,000 inhabitants; and others again, Madras and Bombay, which carry on a trade greater than that of ancient Carthage, of Venice, or Genoa, during their most flourishing periods. It has kings as vassals, with a greater number of subjects than Naples;† of dynasties older than the Bourbons; and the emperor of Hindoostan, the descendant of Tamerlane (Timur Khan), the Great Mogul, still sits on his golden throne in Delhi, surrounded indeed by all the grandeur of the East, but in fact a prisoner in the power of the British.‡

* The revenue of Russia, according to the latest accounts, is 300,000,000 rubles, nearly 12,000,000*l.* sterling; the revenue of British India amounts to more than 19,000,000*l.* yearly.

Presidency.	Revenue.
Bengal and Agra . . .	£11,800,000
Madras	4,700,000
Bombay	2,200,000
Ceylon	420,000
Miscellaneous	56,000
Total	£19,176,000

† The king of Oude has 6,000,000; the Nizam in Hydrabad, 10,000,000 of subjects.

‡ Among the numerous pensioned princes we will only mention here,

	Silver Rupees.
The Nabob of Bengal, with a yearly pension of	2,500,000

But who then is the conqueror, who the sovereign, of this immense empire, over which the sun extends so gloriously his glittering rays, that has arisen on the continent of Asia as if by enchantment, and now rivals in extent that of Alexander, Tamerlane, or Nadir Shah?

Why, on a small island, in another quarter of the globe, in a narrow street, where the rays of the sun are seldom able to penetrate the thick smoke, a company of peaceable merchants meet; these are the conquerors of India, these are the absolute sovereigns of this splendid empire.

We seek in vain through the annals of the world for anything that can be compared with this state of things, or with the rapidity with which this power has raised itself from nothing to its present colossal height. Rome required nine centuries to attain the summit of its grandeur;* the British power in India has risen to an almost equal height in less than one; but still more remarkable does the rise of this power appear, when we consider that it is not indebted for its advancement, like that of the Tartars in China, to superiority of armies, nor, like that of the Huns, Goths, and Vandals in Europe, to the effects of im-

	Silver Rupees.
The Nabob of the Carnatic	2,000,000
The Emperor of Delhi	1,600,000
The Rajah of Tanjore	1,200,000
The Rajah of Benares	500,000
Tippo Saib's son	600,000

* Romulus lived 770 B. C Trajan, in the year 117 after the birth of Christ.

mense masses of people overwhelming others; nor has its success been owing to any such causes as that of the Arabs in Asia, when the fanaticism of religion wielded the sword; nor that of the Spaniards in America, where the simple people took the followers of Pizarro for centaurs, and the fire from their arms for the lightning of heaven.

No, to no such cause is it indebted; we see here a small number of Englishmen, first, by means of a few judicious mercantile enterprises, gain access to the distant country, then spread themselves, then fortify their factories, and lastly, with the Roman motto, "*divide et impera,*" make war on the kings and princes of India, conquer them, and, with the most trifling means, within the short period of about sixty years,* establish one of the mightiest empires of which history gives any example; inhabited by a warlike people, among whom the Mahrattas alone could bring into the field an army of more than 200,000 men, organized by French officers, and supplied with a numerous train of artillery.

It is to this remarkable circumstance, viz., the smallness of the means used, compared with the greatness of the object gained, that the author wishes particularly to direct the attention of the reader; seeing that it contains proofs of the advantages of European civilization over the half-cultivation of the East; of the superiority of science over ignorance, and of British valour and fortitude over Asiatic weakness.

* Bengal, the first English territorial possession, was not gained before 1776.

India,—with its Sanscrit, so expressive for metaphysical conceptions, with its profound philosophical systems, from which Plato himself, Pythagoras, and Origen* gleaned; with its mystical religious doctrines, from which dogmas seem to have propagated themselves to the most distant nations; with its poetical spirit and its rich mythology,—presents a subject equally claiming the meditation of the philosopher and the investigation of the learned.

The oldest records that we possess concerning this country are of the time of Alexander's expedition, and the accounts brought by his followers to Greece. These were necessarily in the highest degree uncertain, because the Greeks were ignorant of the language of the country; because people generally view the power and resources of an unconquered enemy as if through a magnifying glass; and also because Alexander did not extend his conquests beyond the Hyphasis,† and consequently only to the northernmost province of India, the present kingdom of Lahore, a frontier state between the British empire and the now dismembered kingdom of Cabul.

Alexander, who had succeeded with great difficulty in passing the Hydaspes, in sight of a numerous hostile army, pressed forward, after having defeated Porus, the king of the country, to the Hydraotes, and

* Likewise Democritus, Pyrrho, Bardesanes of Babylon, &c.,

† Is now called Beejah, flows into the ancient Hesudrus, now the Sutledge, or Setledji, united with which it flows into the Hydaspes (now the Jelum), which empties itself into the Indus.

finally to the Hyphasis, the last of the five great rivers which descend from the Himalaya mountains into the plains of India, and finally unite with the Indus. On the Hyphasis Alexander was met by the king of the Gangarides, Agrames,* who, with a force of 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, and 2,000 war-chariots,† opposed the progress of Alexander, till then uninterrupted in his victorious career; a mutiny broke out in the army; Alexander returned to the Hydaspes, built vessels there, went down that river to the Indus, and then to the Indian Ocean, whence he returned, along the Persian Gulf, to his conquered provinces on the Euphrates and the Tigris.

The resistance which the Indian kings made on this occasion, the strength of their armies, the number of their war-chariots, the excellence of their arms and appointments, and the strength of their fortresses, the besieging of which had nearly cost Alexander his life, prove what India was even at that time. This is testified also by Herodotus, Diodorus and Arrian, the first authors that gave to Europe any detailed accounts of this country. The most ample, however, are those furnished by Megasthenes, who had gone as ambassador from Alexander to the king of the Prasiens, at Palibothra, a large town near the modern Patna, at the conflux of the Sona with the Ganges.‡

* The countries on the Ganges, probably Rohilcund, Oude, Bareilly, &c.

† See Arrian, and Quintus Curtius, b. ix. c. ii.

‡ See Rennel, who is the best authority.

Diodorus and Arrian mention the high state of civilization which India had then attained; that it was full of large and rich cities, carried on a considerable trade, and had roads, with milestones, and inns for the accommodation of travellers.

Strabo and Plutarch agree in these statements.

A long period passed after the above-named authors, during which no accounts were received from India. Some few fathers of the church, St. Clement and St. Ambrose, for instance, have made some observations, but of so uncertain a nature that but little dependence can be placed on them.

After these Marco Polo is, perhaps, the best source for a knowledge of India, and in some respects the narrative of his travels is very remarkable; but even this is so full of wonderful stories, that we can place but little confidence in him.

The account of a journey by Ibn Batuta is in all respects more to be depended on. He was a native of Tangiers, in Morocco, who in the year 1324 (750 of the Hegira) undertook a journey to the East, which was not finished before 1353, and had, consequently, lasted 29 years. Batuta, who was a learned and a pious man, visited, during his wanderings, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, Khorassan, Afghanistan, India twice, Thibet, China, Sumatra, Java, and returned by way of Ormus, Schiras, Ispahan, Aleppo, Mecca, Jerusalem, and Gibraltar, to Morocco; an amazing journey for that period.

During his abode in India, Batuta gained the favour of Mahomet, the Emperor of Delhi, who sent him on an embassy to the Emperor of China. Mahomet was descended from the sultans of Khorassan, who had conquered India. The whole dynasty of these sultans had the surname of Oddin, a circumstance which I consider it right to notice here.

Batuta's embassy, which consisted of not less than 1000 persons, departed from Delhi in 1342, and the list of the presents that were taken with them may give an idea of the magnificence which then prevailed at the court of Delhi. They consisted of a hundred Arabian horses, richly caparisoned, a hundred Bajaderes, distinguished for their beauty; five dresses, embroidered with jewels; 500 ditto of gold and silk; 1000 ditto of different kinds of stuffs; vessels of gold, swords set with precious stones, &c.*

The description of Batuta's journey contains, however, but little for the man of learning, it being principally an account of his numerous adventures, with little more than a list of the names of those places which he visited. It is written in Arabic, and extracts were first translated by Kosegarten, and afterwards the whole work into English by Samuel Lee of Cambridge.

The above-mentioned scanty information is all that the middle ages afford us respecting India. But a new

* The embassy was first plundered on the road, and afterwards suffered shipwreck. Batuta himself, however, finally arrived in China by way of Thibet.

era soon commenced, more favourable for acquiring a correct knowledge of the country. Vasco di Gama had discovered the way round the Cape of Good Hope; the Portuguese founded the settlement of Goa (about 1600). Their missionaries, who were soon followed by the Jesuits of the Roman propaganda, penetrated into the country, and our sources of knowledge respecting the East now became more abundant. Among these the Jesuit Du Halde has left the most complete accounts, founded, however, on the reports of the Hindoos themselves, and repeated without any critical examination, so that they do not possess that value which they otherwise would have.

After the Jesuits, there appeared two Frenchmen, to whom we are indebted for the best accounts of India, Bernier and Tavernier. The former travelled there from 1640 till 1645, during the reign of the Mogul, Shah Jehan, father of the celebrated Aureng Zebe.

Tavernier travelled somewhat later; but neither of these authors possessed a knowledge of the oriental languages; the latter, indeed, had not even received a general education.

Anquetil and Herbelot ("Bibliothèque Orientale") certainly possess merit as learned authors; but, as their opinions are built upon the missionaries' reports alone, they are probably less sure, and are now also out of date.

Gentil's "Voyage dans les Mers des Indes" (1660), and Bailly's "Traité sur l'Astronomie Indienne,"

are more to be depended on in their respective departments.

At the same time that Bailly wrote* (1780), the antiquities of India, together with its religion and philosophy, were treated with a less commendable spirit by the French Encyclopædists,† with Voltaire at their head. This highly gifted man, whose bold glance, however, never penetrated beyond the surface of any subject, and who wished to refer everything to a preconceived system, endeavoured to avail himself of the doctrines of the Brahmins, in order to depreciate those that were more holy, and often distorted the missionaries' accounts, for the sake of raising doubts on subjects which ought to be elevated above all doubt.

Two other later authors followed the same course, Volney and Dupuis—the former in his work called "Les Ruines," the latter in his essay "Sur l'Origine de tous les Cultes"—who have misinterpreted the doctrine of the Brahmins, and mixed them up with allegorical absurdities, in which they are completely mistaken in their conclusions.

It was reserved for the English to be the first to acquire more correct views, and a more perfect knowledge of India; and who could be in a more advantageous position for the purpose than that nation which governs India? The way was opened

* Bailly fell a sacrifice to the guillotine during the reign of terror.

† Especially D'Alembert and Diderot.

(1787) by Sir William Jones, first president of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta.

With extensive learning, as well European as Oriental, and a perfect knowledge of Sanscrit, Persian, Arabic, and Hindostanee, Sir William united the advantage of a 30 years' residence in India; his works are consequently of the greatest value.*

After him, Colebrook† claims our attention for his great knowledge of India, especially with regard to its religion and philosophy.‡

It would be too tedious to enumerate here all the ample sources in British literature from which a knowledge of India is derived, we therefore refer the reader to the list at the end of the volume, which states at least the authorities that we have consulted.

* "Asiatic Researches," &c.

† "Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindus;" "Digest of Hindu Law."

‡ "Heerens Idéen über die Politik, den Verkehr und Handel der alten Welt," is grounded on the English sources above mentioned; the same is the case with that very meritorious work which my learned countryman (Professor Palmblad) has published (1832), and which, under the modest title of "Handbok i Geografien," (Manual of Geography,) is a source which supplies an extensive knowledge of India.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF CIVILIZATION AMONG THE HINDOOS.

THE ancient history of the Hindoos is involved more, perhaps, than that of any other nation, in a mystic, almost impenetrable, veil. It appears that the higher castes, the Brahmins and the Khetris, came to India from the north, either across the Indian Caucasus (Hindoo-Koosh) or over the river Indus. The complexion of those higher castes, which is lighter than that of the inferior castes, appears to indicate a foreign and northern origin, which may likewise be inferred from the resemblance of their primeval language, the Sanscrit, to the language in which Zoroaster, a native of Central Asia, composed his religious work, the "Zend-Avesta." The inferior castes seem, on the other hand, to have been the aborigines of India, who were subjugated by the invaders, in the same manner as the first inhabitants of Sweden were by the followers of Oddin: the Asæ or Goths.

The foreign origin of the higher castes is likewise attested by the Indian mythology the most ancient in the world, as well as by the heroic poems connected with it, several of which celebrate the arrival of the Brahmins in India, and their victory over the inhabitants of the country.

It is singular that this mythology represents the

higher castes as coming from a country, which, judging by its geographical situation, and the similarity of the names, could be no other than Scandinavia.* It divides the earth from its most northern to its most southern part, into seven islands or zones; calls the most northerly, or highest, *Thul* (Thule); says that the god of war, *Scand* (Scandinavia), reigns there, and that the name of his consort is *Swäd-ha* (Svea.)†

The very ancient Indian poem, the Maha-bharata too, calls the north pole *Gutha*,‡ and affirms that the Brahmins had their origin in that country.

Another coincidence is, that these conquerors divided India into districts of 100 villages, in the same manner as Oddin and his Goths did some thousand years afterwards, on their arrival in Sweden, (*e. g.* the districts of Erlinghundra, Långhundra, and Seminghundra in Upland,) and even now the governors in them are called in India *Fougdar*,§ as they are called *Fogdar* in Sweden.

To determine with precision the time when this conquest of India took place, is difficult, because it is too deeply hid in the darkness of remote ages;

* See the note to the concluding reflections.

† *Svea* is the Swedish name of Sweden.

‡ The southern part of Sweden is called Gotha in Swedish.—The name of the lofty Indian range of mountains, the Ghauts, seems to be derived, on account of the cold prevailing on their summits, from this denomination of the north pole.

§ See "Sir John Malcolm's History of Central India."

and of less importance, for it is indifferent at what time in remote antiquity, a people or tribe, probably leading a nomade life, removed from one part of a vast continent to another; whereas it is highly interesting to ascertain how the civilization of mankind has spread over the earth, and what nations took the lead in it.

In this point of view, the history of the Hindoos is very remarkable; for it gives us good reason to conjecture, that if not the very first, they were at least one of the first nations on the face of the earth that enjoyed the blessings of civilization; that they preceded the others in the sciences, the fine arts, and general knowledge. Hindoostan appears, likewise, to have been the cradle of that religious doctrine which teaches the existence of one only Almighty and everlasting God; a doctrine which, though at that time only speculative, and not, as now, become through Christianity a happy certainty, is a proof of the early development and the contemplative genius of this people.

From India these doctrines, as well as the sciences in general, seem to have been communicated to Egypt, then to Greece, and lastly to Rome. After the migration of nations and the dark period of the middle ages, the sciences happily revived in Europe, and being from Europe spread over the other quarters of the globe, will, we may hope, lead the human race gradually to approximate towards that perfection, which the Divine Lawgiver holds up

as the glorious goal to which it should constantly aspire.

Without adopting in any manner the exaggerated assumptions of the Hindoos themselves, and their first commentators in Europe, respecting the antiquity of the civilization of India, it may, however, be proved by their religious books, their codes of laws, their astronomical tables, and their geometrical investigations, as well as by their ancient monuments; we will endeavour to take a brief view of each of these circumstances.

The oldest written religious book of the Hindoos is called the "Veda,"* and was composed by Viasa, a holy man, who, however, is considered by the Hindoos to be only the compiler of the religious precepts handed down either by writing or tradition, and given by Brahma himself.

On comparing the Sanscrit language in these Vedas with the Sanscrit of the oldest code of laws of the Hindoos called the Institutes of Menu, we see that there is the same resemblance between them as between the Latin language in the time of the Decemvirs (of which there are still some fragments in the Twelve Tables of Rome) and the Latin at the time that Lucretius wrote, and which supposes a lapse of at least 300 years. The lapse of such a period is attested also by the list,

* The "Veda" consists of four books, called in plural "Vedas," contracted from Vedanta. Vedanta means, etymologically, purpose, object of the Veda; *vide* page 45.

given in the "Institutes of Menu," of the names of the teachers and disciples from Viasa to Menu, who successively gave instructions in the sacred doctrines of the "Vedas."

In order, therefore, to ascertain the age of the Vedas, we need only to know the age of the Institutes of Menu. Now, according to the historical researches of Sir William Jones, (which are too long to be repeated here,) the Institutes were composed at least 800 years, but, according to all probability, 1,280 years before the birth of Christ; whence it follows that the Vedas are at least 1,000 years, and probably 1,580 years older than the commencement of the Christian era, which carries us back, according to the Hebrew chronology, to the time when Moses was born. In that remote age, therefore, the Hindoos already possessed written religious books.

The abstract metaphysical questions which are there treated of, may likewise serve as a proof of the high degree of civilization which this nation has already attained.

The Veda says that the angels assembled before the throne of the Almighty, and said with reverence—

"O Ruder!* we wish to know how the soul is united with the body; how the world was created; how the soul is connected with the Divinity; what is the size and measure of the universe; what is that of the sun, of the moon, of the stars, of the earth; what is the object of all, &c."

* God.

The positive manner in which the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and of its existence after its separation from the body, is expressed in this religious book of the Hindoos, is very remarkable.

This doctrine, therefore, was not merely a philosophical proposition, but a religious dogma among this people, which gives it a great moral superiority to all other nations, which, even the Hebrews not excepted, did not receive the immortality of the soul as a religious precept.

Cicero, who, in his admirable treatise on Old Age, and in his Tusculan Questions, rehearses in the most elevated language all the remarkable dicta of the Greek and Roman philosophers respecting the immortality of the soul, notices the uncertainty that prevailed among the philosophers of antiquity on this important point. They indeed perceived that, as the material properties of man had nothing in common with the properties of thought, memory, imagination, and judgment, these faculties must belong to something distinct from the body, in its nature immaterial, indestructible, and immortal, which, after its release from its corporeal prison, may rise to higher regions, and there attain a degree of happiness, virtue, wisdom, and perfection, of which the material part of man is incapable.

Hence, however, these philosophers rashly inferred not only the future immortality of the soul, but likewise its preceding eternal existence, and considered it to be an emanation of the infinite eternal Spirit,

that fills and sustains the universe, to have proceeded from it as the rays do from the sun, without diminishing or impairing the intrinsic light, power, and warmth of that celestial body.

This view of the capability of the soul to attain a higher degree of happiness, wisdom, and perfection, must again lead to the conclusion that the subject was rather the quantity of happiness, wisdom, and perfection which the human soul might attain, than its identity, referred either to the individual or even to the generation that should attain to the enjoyment of it.

Socrates at his death, and Socrates thousands of years afterwards, when he had made infinite progress towards perfection, could not be the same person in this view of the matter; at least no otherwise than as when we compare what Newton was, when a child, with Newton at the time when he had discovered the powers that move the planetary system, and in that case what would Socrates in Elysium care about Socrates in Athens?

This philosophical speculative view tends, however, to annihilate what is dearest to man,—the hope of his individual existence after death, a hope which, founded on the rock of revealed religion, is of more value to us than all that the depths of metaphysics can offer.

The importance of the question has led me away from my object, which is to prove that the Hindoos, who invariably accept the immortality of the soul as a dogma of their religion, were, on this important point, far beyond the ancient Greeks and Romans, among

whom only a small number of philosophers were able to attain these elevated views, while the mass of the people, bound in the fetters of materialism, sought at the altars of their gods nothing more than temporal advantages.

The Brahminic doctrine was, in this respect, superior also to that of Moses, which does not, in any part of the Pentateuch, mention or allude to the immortality of the soul, or a future life, as is attested by the greatest theologians of Europe, such as Warburton, Chalmers, &c.

A great light is also thrown on the early civilization of India by the above-mentioned Institutes of Menu, which, according to Sir William Jones, are at least 800, but probably 1,280 years older than the birth of Christ.

This collection of laws contains regulations respecting commerce, handicrafts, professions, some of which are even now in force; it fixes the rate of interest for money lent, and alludes to something which resembles a law on bills of exchange, or a substitute for money; and this at a time corresponding with that in which the Israelites worshipped idols, and the Greeks besieged Troy,—even then we find among the Hindoos a complete code of laws, commerce, trades, and an established rate of interest.

The sacred books of the Hindoos, the Vedas, say that Bhrim alone created the world, in the course, however, of four great periods, the first of which, called *Satya Yug*, lasted 1,728,000 years; the

second, *Trita Yug*, 1,296,000 years; the third, *Dvapar Yug*, 864,000 years; and the fourth, *Kali Yug*, which is the period now passing, will endure 432,000 years.

Between each of these great periods of the creation or development of the world, there was, say the Vedas, a great and general deluge, which contributed to give to the earth the form which it had in the following period. But does not this agree, in the most remarkable manner, with the most recent discoveries in geology? and whence could the Hindoos derive this knowledge? To attribute it to a revelation among a heathen nation would be contrary to our religious notions; neither can we ascribe it to tradition, because the origin of the human race (at least according to the principles of geology) was not in the older but in the last period; what alternative, then, remains except to suppose that the Hindoos, at that remote era, had, if not a science which preceded that of Werner, Cuvier, Buckland, and Berzelius, at least a philosophical presentiment of what has been confirmed, after the lapse of many thousand years, by the astonishing discoveries of the naturalists, our contemporaries?

Bhrim, say the Vedas, created first time, then the sun, and the light,* afterwards the sea and the land, then the five elements, by the mixture of which

* Moses, in Genesis, says, that God created the light, then the sun and the firmament.

Bhrim made the animals, and last of all man.* The Vedas say further that Bhrim created the world of an oval form, like an egg.

To what strange conjectures does all this give occasion? May we suppose that Columbus had possibly learnt that the Brahmins taught that the earth was of an oval form, like an egg, in an age thousands of years before the time of Copernicus, and likewise long before the Ptolemaic system? and may this doctrine of the Vedas have had any influence on the great enterprise of Columbus, the result of which was the discovery of a new world?

Kali-Yug,† the actual period of the world's existence, begins, according to the astronomical calculation of the Hindoos, 3,102 years before the birth of Christ, on the 20th of February, at 27 minutes 30 seconds past two o'clock (so precisely is the date of this event given).

They say that there was at that time a conjunction of the planets, and their tables show this conjunction. Bailly, in his Essay on the Astronomy of the Hindoos, says that Jupiter and Mercury were then in the same degree of the ecliptic, Mars only eight, and Saturn seven degrees from it: whence it follows that at the time assigned by the Brahmins for the com-

* According to the principles of geology, the origin of man was in the last period of the world; in the biblical style, on the last day of the creation.

† Kali-Yug means the age of affliction, answering to the iron age of the Greeks.

mencement of the Kali-Yug, those four planets must have been successively hidden by the beams of the sun, first Saturn, then Mars, then Jupiter, and last Mercury; they appear, therefore, in conjunction, and though Venus was not visible at that time, it was natural to say that a conjunction of the planets then took place.

The calculation of the Brahmins agrees with our European tables, which proves that it is the result of actual observations. The reason why the Brahmins begin their chronology at this time is not known, but it is conjectured that this is the time of the death of Krischna, who, according to the doctrine of the Brahmins, was an incarnation of the god Vishnou.

Bailly further informs us that Laubère, who was sent by Louis XIV. as ambassador to the king of Siam, brought from that country, in the year 1687, astronomical tables and calculations of solar eclipses; other tables were sent home by Patouillet, a missionary in India, who had procured them in Krischnapooram, a town in the Carnatic. M. Gentil also brought some tables to Europe, which he had obtained from the Brahmins at Tirvalore.

Several other astronomical tables have been subsequently brought to Europe by the English; and all agree in their calculations, though they originate with different persons in India, in ages very distant from each other, and in widely separate places.

Bailly makes the following remarks on these tables:—

"The motion calculated by the Brahmins does not differ, during the long period of 4,383 years, (which had elapsed between these observations and those of Bailly,) so much as a single minute from the tables of Cassini and Meyer. It cannot be denied that the tables brought to Europe by Laubère, in the year 1687, under Louis XIV., came at a time when neither Cassini nor Meyer's tables were in existence, and we must, therefore, allow that the coincidence between them and the calculations of the Brahmins can be no other than the result of accurate astronomical observations by both parties. We may appeal likewise to another fact, namely, that the Indian tables indicate an annual variation in the moon, the same that was discovered by Tycho Brahe, and which was unknown both to the school of Alexandria and to the Arabs, who followed the calculations of that school.

These several facts may suffice to prove the remote antiquity and great extent of astronomical knowledge among the ancient Hindoos.

But geometry also flourished among this people at an equally early age.

In the "Ayen Akbaree,"* we find that the Hindoos in ancient times assumed that the diameter of a circle was to its circumference as 1,250 to 3,927. This proportion is a very close approximation to the

* The journal of Akbar, Emperor of Hindoostan, born in 1555, who died in 1605. He was the father of Shah Jehan, and grandfather of Aurungzebe.

quadrature of the circle, and differs very little from the proportion of 113 to 355 given by Metius. Now, in order to seek, in the most elementary and simple manner, the results found by the Brahmins, it is necessary to inscribe in a circle a polygon of 768 sides, an operation which cannot be performed arithmetically without a knowledge of some peculiar properties of that curve, and at least nine extractions of the square root, each to ten decimal figures. Neither the Greeks nor the Arabs attained to such accuracy on this point.

But if the Hindoos, as we have seen above, had attained such a high degree of astronomical and geometrical knowledge 4,400 years before Bailly wrote,* how many centuries further back must the beginning of their civilization have been? For the human mind can advance only step by step, and very slowly, in the career of science. This carries us so far back into the abyss of ages that the mind is lost in astonishment.

Independently of the above adduced proofs of the great antiquity of civilization among the Hindoos, there are others perhaps still more evident; they consist of the gigantic remains with which India is filled, compared with the age of which, the Temple of Minerva at Athens, and that of Vesta at Rome, are but of yesterday. Among these remains the colossal temples of Elephanta, and still more those of Ellora, hewn with incredible labour out of a chain

* About 1780.

of granite rocks, deserve to be especially mentioned,* for, with respect to the greatness of the work, they may be compared with the Egyptian pyramids, and are superior to them in value as monuments of architecture; a striking proof of the high degree of civilization (of which architecture is a considerable part) to which the Hindoos had attained in the most remote antiquity.

The oldest seat of civilization seems to have been in the northern parts of Hindoostan: Rajastan, Malwa, and Oude, whence it spread first to Central India: Khandeish, Berar, and Bengal, and then to the southern parts of the peninsula: Hydrabad, Mysore, and the Carnatic. This progress of civilization is proved, not only by the Indian documents, but also by the still existing antiquities of the country, of which those that are more to the north are manifestly stamped with a character of higher antiquity than those in the south.

From India, civilization, together with the religion of the Hindoos, seems to have come to Ethiopia and Meroe, the seat of the Gymnosophists,† and thence to have gone down the Nile to Egypt, from which it was in the sequel communicated to Greece; and after the lapse of many ages, spread in its beneficent progress to the rest of Europe.

Everything proves that the mystical religious

* Lord Valentia's Travels, Grindlay on the Temples of Ellora, &c. &c. &c.

† *Vide* Philostratus, Vita Apoll.

doctrine of the ancient Egyptians, as well as their learning and civil institutions, had their origin in India. Like the Hindoos, the ancient Egyptians were divided into four principal castes, the priests, the warriors, the traders, and the cultivators.* Like the Hindoos, the Egyptians believe in the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, and, like them, they worshipped, though under other names, Apis, the phallus, and the lotus, as emblems of their divinities.

That the Egyptian monuments in Upper Egypt have the character of higher antiquity than those in Lower Egypt is another proof that civilization came to Egypt from the south; and as it could not have been from Arabia Petræa, or from the interior of Africa, where there are not the slightest traces of civilization existing at that time, no conjecture remains but that it came by way of Ethiopia from India.

The series of ancient Egyptian monuments begins at Tentyrus, continues up the Nile to the marvellous city of Jupiter Ammon, Thebes with its hundred gates,† thence to Latopolis, Hernconthis, and Edfu, the sanctuary of Apollo; thence to Cairo and Memphis, where the pyramids still brave the ravages of

* See Plato in the Timæus, Aristotle, Herodotus, and Strabo.

† Balzar Cronstrand, a Swedish officer, who resided two years in Thebes, Luxor, and Carnac, has succeeded in taking most accurate views of all those gigantic monuments, representing them in their true light; and will soon publish a work on the subject which will probably excel the celebrated work of Denon.

time; and lastly to the mouths of the Nile, whence, as Herodotus, Strabo, and Diodorus sufficiently testify, it passed over to Greece.

Thus we find that, whereas civilization spread in India from north to south, it advanced in Egypt in the contrary direction, from south to north, a beneficent dispensation of Divine providence to us, as we thereby received in Europe the seeds of knowledge which have borne in the sequel such rich fruits, and which, at the height of perfection which they have now attained, promise to preserve to this, the smallest quarter of the globe, if not its material, yet, what is far more valuable, its intellectual superiority for ages to come.

The facts which have been above adduced may be considered as sufficiently proving that civilization is much more ancient among the Hindoos than in any of the nations situated to the north and west of them, the Egyptians themselves not excepted. If therefore any people could contest the superiority of the Hindoos in this respect, we must look for it to the east among the inhabitants of China or Thibet, or those of Siam, Ava, Pegu, or Cochin-China.

Though a detailed investigation of this comprehensive question would exceed both my abilities, and the limits of this unpretending essay which I here venture to offer, I yet cannot refrain from taking at least a cursory view of this interesting subject.

From what has been already stated, it appears that the higher castes of India, namely, the Brah-

mins, to which civilization was properly indebted for its early development, came to this country from the north, and that as conquerors, either over the Indus or the Himalaya mountain. There is, however, no proof that those conquerors brought with them into India this civilization, which was developed at a later period, and which is too closely allied to the religious doctrine of the Hindoos, and this again too nearly connected with the Ganges (in whose waves alone sins can be washed away), for us not to be convinced that this religious doctrine, and, in consequence, that civilization must have had their origin on the banks of that river.

At the infinitely remote time when those conquerors came to India, they were a nomade tribe, and, consequently, could not have possessed a high degree of civilization; long after their settlement in India, the Brahminical doctrine arose, and, by means of this, the first impulse to civilization was given to the Hindoos.

Their most ancient epic poem celebrates the conquest of the southern parts of India by the fabulous Rama; but Rama was a prince of the royal house at that time reigning, and which still continues to reign at Oude, near the Ganges, and at the same time one of the most celebrated demigods of the Hindoo mythology, which proves that this doctrine had its origin on the banks of the Ganges.

Persia, with Khorasan, has few claims to a more ancient civilization than that of India, however old its own may be, and neither its original religion,

nor its manners, nor its antiquities, give any solid ground to dispute the superiority of India, with regard to antiquity. Zoroaster's "Zend Avesta" is not above 500 years older than the birth of Christ, and therefore 1000 years more recent than the sacred books of the Hindoos.

The predominant religion among the Chinese is that of Fo, a kind of Buddhaism, which again is nothing more than a reformed Brahminism. According to the account given by the Chinese themselves, Fo* came from India to China about 1,200 years before the birth of Christ. He pretended to be an incarnation of Vishnou, one of the persons of the Hindoo triad, which clearly proves that the religion of the Chinese† originated in India; and as religion always has a great influence on civilization, it is probable that the latter is more recent in China than in India.

The same may be affirmed of Siam, Ava, Pegu, and Cochin China. The religion of those countries is, like that of China, derived from the banks of the Ganges, which is the native home of eastern divinities. The Jesuit missionary, Tachard, in his well-

* Fo is a corruption and abbreviation of Bo, Bod, Bodda, Buddha.

† The Mantchoo Tartars, who now constitute the military aristocracy of the Chinese empire, follow the doctrine of the Dalai Lama, which is likewise a modification of Buddhaism. The other higher classes of the original inhabitants follow, for the most part, the doctrines of Confucius, which is rather a kind of Platonic philosophy than a religion; Confucius was born 550 years before Christ.

known work on those countries, reports that, according to the religion prevailing there, a virgin, inspired by heaven, wandered into the desert, where she was impregnated by a sunbeam, and, though a virgin, bore a son; but as she was not able to give him the breast, the Lotos flower* (which is sacred in India) came to her, floating on the water, expanded itself, received the infant, and suckled it. The mother, lost in thought, was carried by angels to heaven. A holy hermit took the child from the bosom of the Lotos and fled with it to Camboya, where it received the name of Godama. When only 12 years of age Godama already performed great miracles, returned thence to Siam, and preached his doctrines, a kind of Buddhaism, that is, a doctrine ingrafted on that of Brahma, and, consequently, of Indian origin.

The best accounts that we possess of the religion of Thibet are given by an Englishman named Bogle, who was sent in 1780 by the governor-general Warren Hastings, as ambassador to Thibet.† During this embassy, Bogle became personally acquainted with the Dalai Lama,‡ a well-informed man, free from preju-

* Nymphæa Lotos.

† Those of Turner are not so recent.

‡ The relation between the Dalai Lama, in Lassa, (the capital of Thibet, a city which has 500,000 inhabitants,) and the Lama in Taeschu Lunbo, who has the title of Bantsching Rinbotscha (Pope), is very peculiar.

Turner gives the following account. (Asiatic Researches, vol. i., p. 210.)

"The most important event," says he, "that occurred in the course of last year was the inauguration of the Lama, in Taeschu

dice, and mild in his government. In a conversation with Bogle, he said that Brahma, Vishnou, and Siva were worshipped by the Thibetians, but that the inferior divinities of India were regarded by them as holy men; that 700 or 800 years before, the Thibetians possessed many temples in India, but that they had been destroyed by the Mahometans in their conquests; that India was the real original seat of their gods and their religion; and he therefore requested the English ambassador to obtain from the Governor-general permission to erect some temples on the banks of the Ganges. Thus the religion of Thibet, and, consequently, its civilization likewise, derived its origin from India, and must be more recent than the religion of the Hindoos.

The above facts may suffice to prove that the civi-

a child two years of age, in whom the immortal soul of the Thibetian supreme head is said to have revived; and that the Dalai Lama came from Lassa to Taeschu, to bring him voluntary offerings."

This child is the same Lama in Taeschu, to whom Bogle was sent thirty years afterwards. But at that time the Dalai Lama in Lassa died, and Bogle relates, that the Lama in Taeschu discovered the child into which the soul of the deceased Dalai Lama had transmigrated; that he sent an account of the matter to the emperor of China, (the supreme head,) who immediately recognized this child as Dalai Lama, and sent ambassadors to him.

Hence we see that the Dalai Lama chooses the Bantsching Rinbotscha, and the latter the former, but which of them is actually the political and religious supreme head of Thibet is uncertain.

lization of the Hindoos, if not the very oldest, is at least one of the oldest, in the world; and that on this account it deserves the especial attention, both of the philosopher and the man of learning.

But if civilization in India was anterior to that of all other countries, it has, on the other hand, remained in the highest degree stationary. In Europe, everything is variable, transient, full of change; in India all is stationary, calm, immoveable: there too, indeed, time hastens forward on his unwearied wings, but cannot affect the rigid form; neither the proselytising sword of the Mussulman, nor the mild light of Christianity, has had any influence upon it, and the Hindoo still worships before the altars of his gods, with the same devotion as when Orpheus charmed the wild beasts by the sounds of his lyre, and when Moses ascended Mount Sinai.

Religion, manners, customs, costume, civilization, all have remained immoveable, as the temples hewn out of the granite rocks of Ellora.

What a vast field is here opened to the meditation of the philosopher! What reflections are called forth on the influence of civil institutions upon the fates of the human race! For it cannot be doubted that this immobility is chiefly to be ascribed to the division of the Hindoos into castes, which again is founded on their religious system. This, therefore, is what we have first of all to examine, in order to make ourselves more thoroughly acquainted with the remarkable people which is the subject of this Essay.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE THEOGONY, THE PHILOSOPHY, AND THE POETRY OF THE HINDOOS.

If these subjects, which in Europe are so different from each other, are here treated of together, it is on account of their close affinity among the Hindoos, whose religion recognises several philosophical systems as dogmatic, and is at the same time a work of the poets, whose exuberant fancy, like that of Homer, has woven the mythological net in which it is now involved.

This religion, which is called the Brahminical, was originally a pure and unadulterated monotheism, which in process of time, and in consequence of the peculiar inclination of the human race to external symbols, has degenerated into complete polytheism.

According to what we have already stated, the Vedas (four books) constitute the proper basis of this religion.*

* Collectively they are called Veda. The extract from them made by Vyasa is called Vedanta; and this is properly the scripture that is studied by the Brahmins.

The angels, say the Vedas, assembled round the throne of the Almighty, and humbly asked what he himself was: he answered—

"If there were another than I, I would describe myself through him: I have been from eternity, and shall remain to eternity: I am the first cause of all that exists in the east and the west, in the north and the south, above and below: I am All, older than all, King of kings; I am the Truth; I am the Spirit of the Creation, the Creator himself; I am Knowledge, and Purity, and Light; I am Almighty."

These truly sublime ideas cannot fail to convince us that the Vedas recognize one only God, who is Almighty, eternal, self-existing, the light and the lord of the universe.

It is chiefly owing to the following causes that this sublime doctrine has degenerated into what it now is, perfect idolatry.

Among the attributes of the Almighty, the Vedas reckon not only that of being the creator and preserver of the world, but likewise that of being its destroyer, probably in reference to the four great periods of the world called Yugs, which are described in them, and which are separated from each other by general revolutions and destructions.

The combination of the principle of destruction with the principle of creation is one of the fundamental ideas of the Brahminic doctrine, which occurs every where in the Shastras (*i. e.* the sacred books), and is sometimes expressed with a sublimity difficult

to be surpassed. Thus Menu, in his "Cosmogony," or history of the creation, says:

"Numberless are the revolutions of the world; the creations, destructions, and new creations: he, the Almighty, produces them as in sport, makes life follow death, and death follow life."

The three great properties of the Almighty, to create, to preserve, and to destroy, are expressed in the Vedas by three different denominations, Brahma, Vishnou, and Siva.

From the aggregate, or, more correctly speaking, from the division of these properties, has arisen symbolically the Trimurti, or divine triad of the Hindoos. It is represented in the great temple at Elephanta, and in several others, under the figure of a colossal human head, with three faces looking different ways, like the two faces of the image of Janus.

The unity was thus changed into the divine triad, but did not stop there in its development.

Vishnou and Siva had come down on the earth in human form, in order to release our race from the continually increasing power of the evil spirit. This act of their descent is called Avatar, or Incarnation. They reckon nine* incarnations of Vishnou, and two

* The most holy and the most revered of these incarnations of Vishnou is the ninth, when the propitiator came into the world under the form of Krishna. He has temples everywhere in India, and is the most venerated of these gods.

of Siva, and the Divine Being must now be worshipped under each of them.*

* Chateaubriand, in his very eloquently written, but rather mystical, work, "Le Génie du Christianisme," has the following passage, vol. v. p. 10:—

"Father Bouchet (a Jesuit missionary in India) has given, in his letter to the Bishop of Avranches, the most curious details on the relations of the Indian fables, with the principal truths of our religion, and the traditions of Scripture." At p. 33, Chateaubriand quotes Father Bouchet's own words, as follows:—

"I begin with the confused idea which the Indians still preserve of the adorable Trinity." (The Jesuit, therefore, believed that this doctrine had preceded that of the Brahmins, and was preserved in it.) "I have spoken to you, My Lord (the Bishop of Avranches), of the three principal gods of the Indians, Brahma, Vishnou, and Rudren." (This is a mistake, it should be Siva. Ruder, not Rudren, is one of the different names which the sacred books of the Hindoos give to the first person of the Divine Triad, who, however, is usually called Bhrim, or Brahma. These are often confounded by the Hindoo theologians, who sometimes affirm that Bhrim is the same as Brahma, and sometimes represent Bhrim as the creator of Brahma, as well as of Vishnou and Siva.)

"Most of the Gentiles say, indeed, that these are three distinct divinities, and effectively separate from each other; but several of the most sensible men affirm that these three Gods, though apparently separated, are in reality only one God; that this God is called Brahma when he creates and exercises all his power; that he is called Vishnou when he preserves created beings, and gives proofs of his goodness; and, lastly, that he takes the name of Rudren (Siva) when he destroys towns, chastises the guilty, and manifests the effects of his just displeasure.

"The fables of the Indians have a still greater share in what concerns the mystery of the incarnation. All the Indians agree

The number of these gods was further increased by the influence of the symbol.

Siva was not only the god of destruction, but likewise the god of creation, or, more properly, the god of re-procreation, for Brahma himself was the god of creation. The symbol of destruction was a trident (like that of Pluto), the symbol of creation was the lingam, the same as the phallus of the Egyptians. Under each of these symbols Siva has his temples, his priests, and, what is worse, his priestesses; who, like the Vestals at Rome, take a vow of chastity, the violation of which is punished with death, a severity which is the more remarkable, as the priestesses of the other gods are Bayaderes, who have a very different vocation, that of sacrificing to sensual love, and this for the profit of their temples, while the priestesses of the lingam live like Vestals. How great are the inconsistencies of the human mind! Virtue, decorum, and chastity, are sacrificed in one temple, while the slightest deviation from

that God has been several times incarnate. Almost all agree to ascribe the incarnations to Vishnou, the second person in their Triad, and this in the character of Saviour or Deliverer of mankind."

What Chateaubriand himself afterwards says in his work, of the religion of the Hindoos, is full of errors, and betrays an ignorance of the subject, which is the more inexcusable, as the writings both of Sir William Jones and of Colebrooke are older than Chateaubriand's "Génie du Christianisme," and ought to have been known to him before he attempted to treat of this comprehensive subject.

them is punished with death in another! and this is the temple of the lingam!

We see how the symbols of unity have produced the divine Triad, and how the Avatars of the several persons have produced a whole Olympus; but the number of gods must have been further increased by the aid of poetry. Heroes, who had distinguished themselves by virtue, courage, or beneficence, were deified by the poets of India, as Bacchus, Hercules, and Saturn were by the poets of Greece. To these were added personifications of the powers of nature, the elements, the heavenly bodies, rivers, springs, trees, &c., by which the number of gods and goddesses was increased to no fewer than three millions, which are now worshipped by the Hindoos, but in no other sense, however, than the papists worship their saints.

Such has been, in India, the fate of the doctrine of the unity of the Deity.

It is true that the more enlightened persons among this people, and particularly among the Brahmins, do not participate in this idolatry. Sceptics in their hearts, they yet, externally, support idolatry. Human reason, they say, immersed in meditation on the Divine Being, grows weary, in a way in which it cannot reach the goal, and where resting places are wanting. Happy is it, then, when it can find an object on which to support itself. To give a metaphysical divine being to men, who, absorbed in objects of the senses, breathe only in the material world, is making them atheists.

With respect to the mass of the people, they say that they will not be content with a God conceivable only in thought, nor can they be guided by such a one; they require objects perceptible by the senses, and thereby obtain a calmness of conviction, and a peace in their conduct, which weighs more in the scale of life than all that the speculations of philosophy can possibly offer them. There is, say they, a "treasure in the temple which must not be thrown away on the great mass in the outer court." The consequence of this sceptical conduct of the Brahmins is, that there are among the Hindoos two religions essentially different; a religion of the priests, and a religion of the people; the first resting on the fundamental doctrine of the Vedas of the existence of one only God, the other degenerated into actual idolatry. And that the line of separation may be the more strongly marked, the Vedas prohibit the reading of the sacred books by the inferior castes; the higher castes may, indeed, read, but not expound them, which is reserved exclusively for the Brahmins, who, consequently, are at the head of all the schools in India, and constitute a learned profession in the highest degree.

The explanations of the sacred writings given by the Brahmins tend chiefly to instruct the people in that part of the Vedas which relates to the transmigration of souls, on which the moral system of the Hindoos seems to be chiefly founded. It is true, if the doctrine of a future life with rewards and punish-

ments, has a powerful influence over the human mind, the doctrine must act still more efficaciously which teaches that life, if happy, is a reward for virtues practised here below, in a preceding stage of existence, or, if unhappy, a punishment for faults there committed; because, in this case, the present life becomes only a link of the same chain with a preceding and a future state, a chain which, though only forged by superstition, must be strong as death. To this doctrine of the transmigration of souls, we may ascribe the moral phenomena which daily occur in India, and which excite sometimes the admiration, sometimes the sorrow, of the European spectator. Trembling he sees the young widow of, perhaps, an aged husband, whom she has scarcely known and never loved, boldly ascend the funeral pile and suffer death in the flames;* with horror he beholds the pilgrim, in cold blood, cast himself on the ground before the car of the idol of Juggernaut, to be crushed by the wheels; with amazement he sees thousands voluntarily seek death in the waves of the Ganges, believing in the holiness of the stream; and with still greater horror does he behold the feudal lord in Rayapootana offer the poisoned chalice to his own daughter, when she has not found, at the age of twelve years, a husband of equal rank with herself.†

* This very ancient custom, called Suttee, was strictly forbidden by Lord William Bentinck, late Governor-General of India, and nearly abolished.

† This practice has greatly decreased in these latter times.

But the paternal heart glows with as much warmth in India as in Europe. The Hindoo is sufficiently fond of life not to sacrifice it wantonly under the car of the idol, and the woman no more longs for the funeral pile in India than in Europe! What, then, is the motive for this self-denial? The belief in the transmigration of souls. He who sacrifices himself believes that he shall soon return to this world, perhaps in a happier situation than his present is, rewarded for his deed; and doubtless the short journey from this world and back again, must appear less dismal, less adventurous, than that to the unknown and distant regions of the land of spirits.

The great dread of the Hindoos of destroying a living animal, especially the more sacred ones,* arises also from this doctrine of the transmigration of souls; for he fears that in a hen he may, perhaps, eat his aunt, or in a hare his uncle, and has the greatest abhorrence of everything that can lead to such a crime. According to the doctrine of the Brahmins, the transmigration of the soul is not inevitable. By approved piety, virtue, and strict conformity to the directions of the Vedas, especially those which prescribe that God is to be honoured only out of gratitude, love, and admiration, not from fear of punishment, or hope of reward, the human soul may, without any kind of transmigration, at once attain Nirvana, *i. e.* bliss, which (according to this doctrine) is a return to its exalted origin, absorption in its divine essence.

* The cow, the ox, the monkey, the peacock, &c.

The Hindoo, though very firm in his belief, is not fanatic, and never endeavours to make proselytes.

He says, if the Creator of the world had given the preference to a certain religion, that alone would have been predominant on earth; but as there are many, this shows that they have the approval of the Almighty. "Men of enlightened understanding," says the Brahmin, "know very well that the Creator has given to each nation the doctrine that is the best suited to it, and therefore beholds with pleasure the various modes in which he is worshipped. We believe that he is present in the mosque, present with those who kneel before the cross of Christ, present in the temple where Brahma is worshipped." This doctrine is, at least, milder, and certainly more conformable to the true doctrine of Christ than that which kindled the autos-da-fè in Spain for the infallibility of the Popes, the divinity of the Virgin Mary, the miraculous power of the images of the saints, and the all propitiatory power of indulgences. The profession of faith which an eminent Brahmin, Ram Mohun Roy,* made in the Asiatic Society at London, in the year 1832, may serve as the best source for judging of it. It is as follows:—

"To the worshippers of the one only God.

"The Hindoos cannot justify the idolatry which

* Ram Mohun Roy, a man of a highly cultivated understanding and noble presence, came to England in 1832, and died in that country in 1836. He was perfectly well acquainted with the English and several oriental languages.

they now practise. Instead of giving reasons to defend their manner of acting, they satisfy themselves with appealing to the customs and prejudices of their fathers. Some among them have been offended with me, because I left idolatry for the worship of the true and eternal God. It is therefore that, with the intention of defending the faith of our ancestors, I have endeavoured to enlighten my countrymen as to the real meaning of our holy books, and to prove that my opinions, differing as they do from those of my contemporaries, do not deserve that blame which some inconsiderate persons have been ready to heap upon me.

"The doctrines of the Hindoo religion are contained in the Vedas, as they are called, which are said to be contemporary with the creation. These books are exceedingly voluminous, and, as they are written in the most elevated and metaphorical style, they are, as may easily be conceived, in many places indistinct, and, to appearance, contradicting each other. It was on this account that the great Viâsa (in consideration of the difficulties which would arise from the use of these authorities) formed with great judgment a complete compendium of the whole work, and, besides, adjusted all those texts which seemed to contradict each other. This work he called Vedanta, which name is formed of two Sanscrit words, and means the explanation or completion of the whole Veda. Vedanta has always been held in the greatest respect by all Hindoos, and, instead of the

lengthened arguments of the Vedas, it is always this work which is referred to as possessing equally good authority. As, however, this work is involved in the deep obscurity of the Sanscrit, and as the Brahmins allow no one but themselves to interpret it, even forbidding others to touch any book of the kind, the Vedanta, although constantly referred to, is but little known by the people, on which account the religious worship of but very few Hindoos agrees with its precepts.

"In order to complete my defence, I have, to the best of my ability, translated this hitherto unknown work, as also an abridgment, which has been made of it, into the Hindoostanee and Bengal languages; and I have distributed them *gratis* among my countrymen, so far as circumstances would permit. This translation will, I hope, prove that the idolatry, which now disfigures the Hindoo religion, has nothing in common with the pure spirit of its original doctrines.

"The Hindoos of our time believe in the existence of innumerable gods and goddesses, who, each in his sphere, possess a complete and independent power, and it is to render these propitious, but not the true God, that temples are built and religious services performed. There is, however, no doubt, that every religious custom among us arises from an allegorical worship of the true Deity. But now all this is forgotten, and in the eyes of a great number of Brahmins it is even heresy to speak of it.

"It is not my intention to prove here the superiority

of my religion to that of other people. The result of a controversy on this subject can never be satisfactory; for the powers of the understanding, which lead men to certainty in those subjects which they can comprehend, have no power in those questions which lie beyond their conception. I will only say that, if reflection and the precepts of sound reason lead to the belief in a wise uncreated Being, who supports and guides the immeasurable universe, we must also consider him as the mightiest and supreme Being, infinitely surpassing the bounds of our reason, and of our powers of description. Although most people with uneducated judgments, and even many otherwise enlightened, (but only in this point blinded by prejudices,) eagerly choose something sensual as an object of their worship, which they could always see, the absurdity of such conduct is nevertheless equally palpable.

"My continued reflections on the blasphemous usages of Hindoo idolatry have at once inspired me with pity for my countrymen, and driven me to make all possible endeavours to rouse them from their error, so that, through a more intimate knowledge of their holy writings, they may be enabled, with true devotion, to contemplate the unity and omnipresence of the Almighty God.

"By following this path, to which I have been led only by my conscience and my sincere love of truth, I have, as being born a Brahmin, exposed myself to complaints and reproaches, even from

some of my relations, whose prejudices are powerful, and whose temporal advantages depend on the present system of religion. But I will bear them calmly, even if they were more numerous, hoping that a day will come when my humble exertions will be regarded with justice, and perhaps acknowledged with gratitude. In all cases, and whatsoever mankind may say, they shall not deprive me of the consoling certainty, that my views will be acceptable to that Being who sees in secret and rewards openly."

These declarations of Ram Mohun Roy, and what I have previously quoted, may suffice to prove what a strange mixture of good and evil the Hindoo religion is. Idealism and materialism, superstition and libertinism, deism and pantheism, all blended together; but out of this chaos of warring elements a ray of so noble a kind sometimes beams, that one is tempted to believe that it is a gleam of the first revelation, or else a presage of the mild and pure light which the doctrine of Christ has shed upon the earth, and that now guides us through the night of life, as the pillar of fire guided the Israelites through the wilderness into the promised land.

What the doctrine of Brahma, in its present degenerate state, would require, would be a reformer, like Luther, to bring it back to its original purity. Ram Mohun Roy made the attempt, but failed; and nobody will succeed who does not assume the form of a new Avatar, for in India no proselytes are made by natural means.

After the view which we have just taken of the religion of the Hindoos, we ought properly to glance at the philosophical systems which are innate in it, and may be said to be a constituent part of it; but they are partly too diffuse, partly too much at variance with each other, to find a place here. We must, however, state that they are all pantheistical; that is, they assume that God and the world, God and matter, are one; God is all, and all is God.

Among these systems, there is one which must be mentioned on account of its singularity, and the great number of its adherents,—it is the system of Maja, or illusions.

According to this system, there is nothing in reality existing, except Bhrim (the great Spirit); there is neither heaven nor earth, neither land nor sea, neither men nor animals, neither trees nor houses; all is maja, illusion, deception. What we see, what we hear, what we feel, is but a dream, a thinking in sleep; death is only awaking from this dream, when the soul returns to its original exalted state.

But, according to this train of thought, what would life be? Nothing more than the shadow of a dream. Such a view of the world should seem to be the product of mystical piety rather than of philosophical contemplation—a piety which so zealously clings to the nothingness of created beings, and to the greatness of the Creator, that it has passed from a comparative style of speaking to a positive. It is often

very difficult to distinguish between mysticism and scepticism.

If the doctrine of Brahma, besides the addition of the metaphysical systems, has received others that are more dangerous, namely, those that have originated in the creative fancy of the poets, it must be owned that the Olympus which has thus been formed may be compared for richness and splendour of colouring with that of the Greeks: for example, the god of love is called in the mythology of the Hindoos, Kama. It relates that he is the son of Maja, seduction; married to Retty, inclination; and a friend of Vassaul, the spring. According to others, he is the son of Lackshmi, that is, beauty. He is represented as a handsome, but roguish, youth, who, armed with a bow of flowers, and surrounded by dancing nymphs, rides on a chattering parrot by moonlight. Is not this image as poetical, and more appropriate, than that of the Greeks? Neither of them, it is true, represents the pure, self-denying love, which lives in its own spirit, sacrifices everything, and demands nothing of its object; but how can this, which is so rare in the cold north, be expected in the burning climate, where the Bayadere is a priestess? No, we are not to look there for Platonic love.

According to Sir William Jones, the Hindoo Olympus is the original of that of the Greeks, and indeed there are gods in India that, like Mars, Hercules, and Apollo, correspond with war, strength, and beauty; but may not the metaphor have been used,

the action personified, in a similar manner, without our being obliged to derive one image from the other? The difference between the Hindoo and the Greek Olympus is too great to authorise this hypothesis.

Krischna, says Sir William Jones, is the same as Apollo; but, excepting that both are represented as handsome young men, I cannot discover the slightest resemblance between them. Krischna was a prince's son, a conqueror, an avatar, consequently a symbol of greatness war, and divinity; Apollo a symbol of the fine arts, of harmony, of light, which have not much in common with the above qualities. The luxuriant and oriental fancy of Sir William Jones seems to have sometimes misled him to hasty conclusions, and this may, perhaps, be reckoned among the number.

As some of the epic poems of the Hindoos belong to their religious doctrine, we must now examine them in order; but, as they are likewise a portion of the literature of India, it will not be beside our purpose to take a view of that at the same time.

The literature of India, which was not studied in Europe before the year 1780, after Sir William Jones and Mr. Colebrooke had led the way, cannot be considered as having made further progress among us than the study of Greek literature had in the 16th century. It is, therefore, not yet time to apply to it the laws of European criticism, for which we are not sufficiently acquainted with itself, or with the complex language in which it is written. However small this knowledge may be, it has already produced a

schism among the literati of Europe, some of whom would refer everything to the wisdom of the East, while others, accustomed to view the civilization of Greece as the focus from which philosophy and poetry have been spread, will not allow the temple of literature created there to be undermined. To decide which of the two notions is correct, that which considers Hindoo literature as the root, or that which gives this honour to the Greek, is the more difficult, because the Hindoo poets disdain all historical and chronological truth, and live only in the ethereal regions of fancy, whereas the Greeks have, at least, certain data, the accuracy of which cannot be disputed.

Whatever therefore may be alleged in regard to the respective antiquity of Greek and Hindoo literature must be considered rather as a hypothesis, than as a fact founded on historical certainty. On the other hand, with respect to the intrinsic worth of Brahminical literature, it may be confidently affirmed, notwithstanding the small number of Sanscrit works known in Europe, that it makes us acquainted with a great nation of antiquity, whose literature embraces all branches of learning, and that it will therefore always hold a distinguished rank in the history of the intellectual improvement of mankind.

Poetry predominates in everything among the Hindoos; it has impressed its forms and its attractions on the most abstract sciences, even on the most

recondite investigations of philosophy and metaphysics. They have indeed thereby lost in clearness and precision; but then the poetical and mystical veil in which they are shrouded gives them a charm which the simplicity of prose, of course, does not possess, and opens to the speculative power of thought a wider field than it usually embraces.* The sacred poems of the Hindoos, called Puranas, correspond with the legends of the papists, or the theogonies of the Greeks; they are eighteen in number, and celebrate Brahma, Vishnou, Siwa, Brahmanda, Linga, Vamana, Skanda, Agni, and other gods, demi-gods, and myths of India. Each Purana has five divisions,—the creation, destruction, and renovation of the world; the avatars, the genealogy and history of the god or demi-god to whom it is specially dedicated. The eighteen Puranas contain together 400,000 stanzas. Part of them have been translated into English by Wilson, and part by Mackenzie, (see his collection.)

The Upapuranas (likewise eighteen in number) are looked upon as less sacred than the Puranas.

Next in order is the epic poetry, and two of its productions in particular are reputed to be sacred. These are the Ramayana and the Maha-bharata. The first of these epics, which is ascribed to the poet Valmiki, celebrates the expedition of Rama against

* This at least is the opinion of A. W. Schlegel, on which account his translations from the Sanscrit are in verse, and are written in the same kind of metre as the originals.

the tyrant Ravanas, who was king in Lonkas, and had begun a contest with the god Indra. Rama though a son of the king of Ayodhya, is at the same time considered as an incarnation of Vishnou, who had come down to earth to punish Ravanas and his adherents; the latter bear some resemblance to the Titans of the Greeks, and to the fallen angels of our religion.

In the introduction to the poem, Brahma himself pronounces the prophetic words, that, "so long as the mountains stand and the rivers flow, Ramayana shall live among men." This has, at least, proved true for above thirty centuries.

The other celebrated epic poem, the Maha-bharata, celebrates Krischna's expedition against the southern parts of India,* and his conquest of the island of Ceylon. (Hamanam [half god half monkey], with an army resembling himself, is likewise celebrated in this poem.)

Krischna is the last and the most venerated of the incarnations of Vishnou; he has temples in every part of India, and is usually worshipped by the fair sex; for Krischna was an Apollo in beauty, a Don Juan in love-intrigue, and an Alexander in warlike exploits.

We do not find in the ancient Indian poems the fervid imagination, and the too great freedom of

* Properly speaking, it celebrates the combats between the two races of the Panduids and the Kuruids, which, by Krischna's aid, were decided in favour of the former.

imagery, with which the Persian and Arabic poets are justly reproached. In general the epic poetry of the Hindoos, both in its language and form, has the noble simplicity of Homer.

When the Maha-bharata was written, the Brahminical religious fanaticism, which was of later origin, had not penetrated into domestic life. We find in it no trace of the cruel self-immolation which that fanaticism afterwards imposed on widows, condemning them to be burnt alive with the dead bodies of their husbands; nor is there any indication of the despotism which the man universally exercises in India over the woman. The poet places the noble character and amiable devotedness of the wife in the fairest light, and proves that we in Europe have no proper notion of the situation of women in the East, and especially in ancient times. In general we form our opinions of their situation from the manners of Persia and Turkey, with which we are better acquainted; but these are not the same in the more eastern and southern countries of Asia, and particularly they were not the same some centuries ago. At that time there were sublime religious ideas and pure morality in the East; but that part of the world has shared the fate of all others; it has had its golden age and its decline, and will probably be one day regenerated. To judge of the East from what it is in the period of its decline, would be as unjust as to represent the Roman people in the time of the republic, as they became under the papal power.

In the laws of Menu (book iii. s. 58) we read "Women are to be esteemed and honoured by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and fathers-in-law, if the latter wish to be happy themselves. The gods rejoice when women are honoured; where it is not done, sacrifices avail nothing. When the women are ill-treated the whole family goes to ruin; when the contrary happens, it flourishes for ever."

In the Maha-bharata king Duschmanta expresses himself in the following beautiful language:—"The woman is the honour of the family; she, who gives the children; the woman is the life of the man; she, who is ever faithful. The woman is the half of the man, she is his best friend, the source of all happiness. The woman, with her sweet language, is the friend in solitude, the mother of the oppressed, refreshment on the journey through the wilderness of life." (See Digest of Hindu Law, translated by Colebrooke.)

Such exalted ideas of the holiness of marriage, and of the reciprocal duties of husband and wife, necessarily excluded polygamy. In general, the Hindoos marry only one wife, though the laws of Menu allow four. From some passages in these laws, it seems, however, as if the most ancient and most sacred ordinances enjoined monogamy. The fear of dying without descendants probably led the way to polygamy, for, according to the notion of the Brahmins, the greatest of all misfortunes is to quit the world without leaving an heir, who, by his virtue

and pious deeds, may obtain for his parents Nirvana, or eternal bliss.

In the Ramayana, paradise is promised to those who marry only one wife, and the Hindoo mythology assigns to each god only one consort.*

The dramatic literature of India was first made known in Europe by a translation which Sir William Jones gave of one of its masterpieces, Sacontala, and afterwards by the six dramas translated by Wilson, and printed at Calcutta in 1827, in 3 vols. 8vo. They have great merit, as well by the charms of the poetry as by the faithful representations of manners. The name of the author of Sacontala, as well as of one of the six translated dramas, is Kalidas, one of the nine jewels, as they are called at the court of Vicramaditya, a sovereign contemporary with the Emperor Augustus.

The Thousand and One Nights, which are such favourites in Europe, are of Hindoo origin, written in Sanscrit, and afterwards translated into Arabic and Persian. They are called in Sanscrit Vrihatkat'hâ.

* Besides the Ramayana and the Maha-bharata, there are some other poems of great celebrity, which have been translated by A. W. Schlegel and Lasson, the Hitopadesa, &c. &c.

CHAPTER III.

OF BUDDHISM AND JAINAISM.

THOUGH the reader's time has, perhaps, been already too long engaged with the religion of the Hindoos, and the metaphysical and philosophical systems connected with it, we must yet, before we quit the copious subject, take at least a cursory view of the religion which, originating in the doctrine of Brahma, has spread over so large a portion of the earth, that its adherents exceed in number those of the professors of any other religion; we mean the religion of Buddha,* which, under different names, is professed by all the nations that inhabit the eastern parts of Asia.

In China, Cochin China, Corea, and Japan, it is

* Assuming the population of the globe at 1,000,000,000, there are, according to writers of credit,

Christians	200,000,000
Jews	3,000,000
Mahometans	140,000,000
Buddhists	380,000,000
Brahmists	200,000,000
Other sects and heathens in Asia, Africa, and America . .	77,000,000
Total . .	1,000,000,000

called the religion of Fo; in Siam, Ava, Pegu, Sumatra, Java, and Malacca, the doctrine of Gaudhma, or Godama; and in Thibet,* Mongolia, and Tartary, the doctrine of the Dalai Lama. In that part of Hindostan, which is to the east of the Ganges (Nepaul, &c.), and in the island of Ceylon, it is also the predominant religion. The sum total of the population of all these nations cannot be estimated at less than 380,000,000; if we add to this the 200,000,000 in India who profess the doctrine of Brahma† (of which that of Buddha is only a ramification), we find that this religion embraces more than one-half of the human race (estimating it at 1,000,000,000); a very remarkable proportion, which may in part justify what is said by Burke, in one of his most celebrated works, "The Government of God," namely, that next to revealed religion, no other has contributed so much as the doctrine of Brahma to conduct mankind to a more exalted goal, the belief in the immortality of the soul, and the existence of one only Almighty Creator.

The religion of the Buddhists was not founded by one, but by several prophets or holy men (by which-

* A Chinese writer says, in his description of Thibet, translated into Russian by the Archimandrite Hyacinth Bitchurin, that Fo's doctrine has spread over all Thibet, where, therefore, Buddha is worshipped; his four greatest temples are in Botala, H'Lassa (the capital of Thibet), Sera, and Djachici.

† See As. Res., vol. ix., Observations on the Jains, by Colebrooke, and A. W. Schlegel, Sur l'étude des Langues Asiatiques.

soever name they may be called), who lived in countries so distant from each other, as India, Siam, China, Thibet, and Persia, and in such different ages, that there was probably an interval of more than 1,000 years between the first and the last of these founders of the religion, who all assumed the name of Buddha, that is, were learned or holy men.

The several founders of Buddhism, though differing considerably in their opinions, all agreed in taking the doctrine of Brahma as the basis of their own, but endeavoured more or less to purify it from the additions which had gradually changed it from monotheism to polytheism.

All these Buddhas agreed, likewise, in abolishing the distinction of castes, preached equality among mankind, like the apostles of Christ, and were reformers, like Luther, Calvin, Knox, &c.

The religion of the Buddhists differs, however, from that of the Brahmins in a very essential part, inasmuch as, whereas the god of the latter pervades and animates all nature, the god of the Buddhists, like the god of the Epicureans, reposes, and does not concern himself about human affairs ; which, after they have received the impulse of the Highest, proceed in their regular course, without his paying any further attention to them. According to their doctrine, he passes no judgment on the worth of human actions ; he neither rewards nor punishes them : but is not this, in fact, nearly equivalent to having no God at all ? They, indeed, hold that good always proceeds from virtue, and

evil from vice ; and that they are respectively followed by temporal reward or punishment. As the human mind, however, always has need of some object in which it may place its confidence, on which it may firmly rest its hopes, to which it may address its wishes or its prayers ; they teach that, from time to time, men of extraordinary piety and self-denial have appeared on earth, who, on account of their eminent virtues, have been removed, after their death, to a state of superior bliss, which, however, according to their doctrine, is nothing more than freedom from all sorrow and suffering, in the same manner as health is freedom from all disease. These men, so transformed after death to a state of bliss, are the objects of the worship of the Buddhists ; they have, however, different names in the several countries in which their doctrine is received.

Among these holy men, or Buddhas, the most interesting to us is, perhaps, Sakia, an anchorite, who lived in central Asia about the time that Cyrus reigned (550—530 B. C.) ; which Sakia Buddha, according to Sir William Jones, is supposed to be the same as our Oddin ; he was, however, one of the last that appeared : there were others who lived many centuries previously to this Buddha's appearance in the world.

Hindostan seems to have been properly the chief seat of Buddhism in remote antiquity. This is proved, as well by the cavern temples of Ellora and Adjunta, the greater part of which were dedicated to

Buddha, and whose great antiquity we have already mentioned, as by the oldest traditions of the Indian people.

The doctrine of the Buddhists respecting the abolition of castes was the real cause that excited against them the hatred of the superior castes in India, in the same manner as the idea of equality among the early Christians was the cause of their persecution in the reign of Nero. (It appears from the expressions of Tacitus what ideas the Romans entertained of the political principles of the new sect.) The divine Triad and the Avatars were recognised by the Buddhists as well as by the Brahmins, and, therefore, no schism could ensue between them on that subject.

The war which broke out in India between the Buddhists and the superior castes ended with the expulsion of the former from the country: the case seems to have been the reverse in other parts of Asia, where the Buddhists triumphed, penetrated eastwards to China, Corea, Cochin China, Siam; and westwards to Asia Minor and Chaldæa. The Samanæans in Aram adopted many of the principles of Buddhism, and the Gnostics, though Christians, partially followed this doctrine.

Johannes von Müller* even affirms that Clement,†

* "Allgemeine Weltgeschichte," book ix. Likewise "Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," chap. xv. and xvi.

† See his work, under the title of "Recognitiones."

a disciple of St. Paul, participated in their views, and that Simon Magus was not only a Christian Gnostic, but a Buddhist. Some, though slight, traces of this doctrine have even penetrated into our distant north, and it cannot be denied that they are to be found in the Gothic mythology. Of these we may mention the resemblance between the names of Buddha and Oddin (especially in the Oriental pronunciation)* ; the coincidence that the fourth day of the week bears the name of Buddha, in the countries where his doctrine is known, as it does the name of Oddin in Sweden ; and the similarity between the serpent of Mitgard and that of Vishnou, which likewise twined round the earth.† The most striking of all these resemblances is the following :—that the gates of Walhalla, of which, according to the Edda, there were 500, multiplied by 800, the number of the Einheriars (warriors) who come abreast at the same time out of each gate,‡ gives a product of 432,000 ; which

* And of *Edda* and *Vedas*, the sacred books of the Scandinavians and of the Hindoos.

† The serpent acts an important part in almost all the religions in the world, even in Mexico, where the god Fizli-Puzli is accompanied by a serpent.

‡ Five hundred gates, and 40 gates more, are in Walhalla; 800 Einheriars (warriors) can issue abreast out of each, when they are to combat the Wolf. Here is meant the conflict with the Femis-Wolf at the end of the world, when Oddin marches against him at the head of 432,000 armed Einheriars. See the Edda.

is exactly the fundamental number of the ages of the world, or Yugs, of the Brahmins and the Buddhists, of which that in which we live is to endure 432,000 years, and of which the three preceding correspond with this number multiplied by 2, 3, and 4.*

These coincidences may, certainly, induce men of learning† to consider the Gothic mythology as derived from the Indian. The resemblances appear, however, to be too few, and the differences too many, to justify the hypothesis of a common origin. Such an origin, in order to be proved, must be founded on less fortuitous circumstances, and on analogies in the intrinsic nature and the peculiar essence of those doctrines, without which a real affinity between them cannot be maintained. But there are no such similarities between the Gothic mythology and the religious doctrine of Brahma. The former is in its nature rude and sensual, characteristic of a people still in its primeval state; the latter bears indisputable indications of a people far advanced in civil-

* 1,728,000 = 4 × 432,000
1,296,000 = 3 × 432,000
864,000 = 2 × 432,000
432,000 = 1 × 432,000

† Among them is Professor Cronstrand. See his Essay, printed in the Transactions of the Swedish Academy of Sciences for the year 1822; and Mr. James Low, who, in the year 1830, presented an essay on this subject to the Asiatic Society in London.

ization. The mythology of the Goths celebrates in its heroes valour and strength, as the highest triumph of human nature. Brahma's doctrine makes it to consist in the practice of devotion, self-contemplation, and self-denial.

Where do we find in the mythology of the Goths any traces of that love of allegory, which so remarkably distinguishes the Brahminic doctrine? Where has it anything corresponding with the tenet so positively expressed in this doctrine, of the existence of one only God, or of a divine Triad, founded on the symbolical representation? where any allusion to an incarnation of the Divinity, or to the immortality of the soul? Walhalla, with its mead and its orgies, cannot be compared with the profoundly philosophical idea of the reunion of the soul with its exalted original source, after the completion of its pilgrimage. The ravens of Oden, the he-goats of Thor, the boar of Frey, and the cats of Freya, cannot be of oriental origin, where eagles, lions, tigers, and elephants would certainly have been chosen, in preference to these domestic animals, to draw the cars of the divinities. No; the mythology brought by Sigge Fridulfson* to Swithiod,† had not its origin in India, the contemplative, metaphysical religion of which indicates a high degree of civilization, which must have existed for many centuries before it had become

* Sigge Fridulfson called himself Odin on his arrival in Sweden.

† Swithiod is the Scandinavian name of Sweden.

what it was at the time that Viasa composed his Vedanta,* and this was 1,500 years before the arrival of Sigge Fridulfson in Swithiod. At that time India had attained such a high degree of civilization, that a chief, who came from that country, would have brought far more refined doctrines and laws than those of Sigge Fridulfson, the whole form of which affords the most evident proofs that they belong to a people still living in a state of nature, and could not have come from any more remote southern country than, at the furthest, the shores of the Euxine, the mountains of the Caucasus, the Kuban, or the Don, where graves of the giants, images of Thor, and Runic or Bauta stones, still testify a common origin.† The doctrines of Brahma and Buddha, on the contrary, are the products of India, originated on the banks of the Ganges, and never reached the shores of the Baltic.

The above brief view of Buddhism is the result of my investigations in the works of almost all the authors who have treated of the origin and nature of this doctrine;‡ and who, though differing in their

* See page 18.

† The northern origin of the doctrine seems to be further confirmed by the fact, that it still prevails among the Samoyeds, who worship Odin, Thor, Freya, &c.

‡ The Asiatic Journal contains, in its numerous volumes, many good accounts relative to Buddhism; so does the Quarterly Oriental Magazine, printed at Calcutta; Von Bohlin's Essay "De Origine Buddhaismi" and the Transactions of the Asiatic Society in London likewise furnish good information..

views, have, however, impressed me with the probability of what I have stated; certainty is not to be had in the religious history of the East.

There is another sect, a branch of Brahminism, which has not yet been mentioned, namely, the Jains. These resemble the Buddhists in several of their religious doctrines, but look upon God as so inconceivable in his nature, that he cannot be comprehended by the feeble human understanding They, however, believe that a few chosen persons have been able to comprehend him; but that since the beginning of the world there have been only twenty-four of these, whom they call Tirthankars, who are represented and honoured as saints in their temples.

The Jains are chiefly to be found in the north-west parts of India, but in no great numbers. Their pagodas are generally larger and more splendid than those of the Brahmins; they themselves are less superstitious, and more polished than the orthodox adherents of the doctrine.

What has been stated in the course of this essay on the several sects of the Brahminic religion* may serve as a guide to judge to which of them a statue, or a temple, a bas-relief, picture, or medal belongs. It is Brahminic, if it represents idols with several arms, strange figures, half man, half beast, a cow, an ape, or a peacock, a trident, or the image of the

* In the principal Brahminic religion there are several subdivisions, of which the two chief are those of Vishnou and Siva.

lingam. It is Buddhistic, when the idols have only two arms and a natural shape, likewise when the temples are in the form of a pyramid, or of a segment of a sphere; or when it contains ten human figures in a row, (namely the ten Avatars of Vishnou, of which Buddha was the tenth, whereas the Brahmins reckon only nine incarnations of that god.) If, on the other hand, there are twenty-four figures in the row, this proves that it belongs to the Jains, and represents their Tirthankars. In other respects the temples of the Jains resemble those of the Buddhists.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE MAHOMETAN NATIONS OF INDIA—OF THE GUEBRES OR PARSEES—THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS, &c.

THOUGH the religion of Brahma is, beyond all comparison, predominant in British India, there are, however, followers of other religions, who, together, form no inconsiderable portion of the immense population of this mighty empire.

In the first place are all the Mahometan descendants of the former conquerors of India, the Moguls, the Afghans, and the Persians, whose number amounts to no fewer than 15,000,000, so that the Queen of England has more Mussulmen under her sceptre than even the Grand Signior (since the loss of Egypt and part of Syria) can reckon under his sway.

Tamerlane's conquest of Hindostan, and the continuance of his dynasty on the throne of Delhi for several centuries, as well as the conquests of the Afghans, or Patans, as they are called in India, who were also Mahometans, have caused a great number of the kings and princes of India (some of them still reigning, some pensioned by the English) to be Mahometans, as descending either from chiefs,

whom the early emperors at Delhi had appointed, or from families which, through the influence of the Moguls, had embraced Mahometanism. The same may be said of their great officers, so that a large proportion of the higher ranks of India are Mahometans.

As a list of the princes in India who profess the Mahometan religion gives at the same time an idea of the great scale of the British possessions in that country, I add the following.

Mahometan Princes.

The Great Mogul (or Emperor) at Delhi, with all his courtiers and great men.
The Nizam of the Deckan, with 10,000,000 of subjects; (these, however, are of the Brahminic religion.)
The King of Oude (with 6,000,000.)
The descendants of Tippo Saib (Sultan of Mysore.)
The Nabob of Bengal (who has a pension of 2,500,000 silver rupees.)
The Nabob of Bhopal.
The Nabob of Cambay.
The Nabob of Surat.
The Nabob of Furonkabad.
The Nabob of Hydrabad.
The Nabob of Joonagurh.
The Nabob of Kurveijee.
The Nabob of Mangool.
The Nabob of Masulipatam.

The Nabob of Banda.
The Emir Khan of Malwa.
The Princes in Gujerat.
The Soobahdar in the Carnatic.
The Zemindars in Dussara.
The Begum in Sumro.
The Sheiks of Waee, &c.*

The preceding list shows what great influence the Mahometan religion must still have in India, where it is professed by so many powerful princes, who are supported by no fewer than 15,000,000 of the same religion.

The stability of the English power in India may therefore have more to fear from the Mahometan descendants of the former conquerors, than from the Hindoo population, which is, in general, less warlike; but what lessens the danger is, that the Mahometans of India are, for the most part, of the sect of the Soonies; whereas the most formidable neighbours of this empire, namely, the Persians, are of

* Though the above number of the Mahometan princes, subject to the British empire, is so considerable, the number of princes professing the religion of Brahma is still greater. Among them there are nine who are Brahmins by birth; ten Ketrys (that is, of the caste of warriors); fifteen Mahratta princes, among whom are Scindiah and Holkar; no fewer than fifty-four Raypoot princes; four Seik princes, subject to the Company; and three Abyssinian Christians, who possess principalities in India. It would exceed our limits to mention them all by name, and we therefore give only this summary.—(See "Historical Sketch of the Princes of Indian." Edinburgh, 1833.)

the sect of the Shiahs; which two sects hate each other more than if they were of two totally different religions; a more durable union between them against the British power is therefore not probable.

The Mahometans are in general a people more moral in their way of life than the professors of the doctrines of Brahma, now degenerated into idolatry. The Mahometans believe with us Christians in the truths of the Old Testament. They also consider the New Testament as holy, and Christ himself as a prophet. The great fault of their religion (independently of its errors) is the degradation of the female sex. This, it is true, proceeds more from the baneful influence of manners in the East than from the precepts of their religion, which enjoins them to honour the virtuous woman: but polygamy ruins all; it is an inexhaustible source of demoralization, of discomfort in the seclusion of the harem, and (what we should not imagine) of a diminution of the population; for the number of children, of those who have several wives, is fewer in general than of those who have but one.

Next to the Mahometans the first place belongs to a remarkable people, the Guebres, or Parsees. They worship the sun, as the image of the Supreme Being, and keep up the sacred fire in their temples as a symbol of him. Zoroaster was the founder of their religion, and their sacred book is the Zend-Avesta. About 1,000 years ago they came from central Asia to India, and have spread considerably in the western

parts, where the city of Bombay alone contains above 10,000 of them. They are distinguished from all the other inhabitants of India by their handsome persons, their prosperity, and their industry. They carry on the greatest trade, next to the English, in the west of India, and are equally remarkable for their skill in ship-building. The Parsees are in general of the middle class. They do not cultivate the ground.

The next to be mentioned are the Syrian Christians. Their religion is founded on that which St. Thomas the Apostle himself is said to have preached in this part of India. In the 16th century they had above a thousand churches in that country, but were so bitterly persecuted in the following centuries, by the Portuguese Roman Catholics, that they were nearly extirpated.* At present they are very few in number, and have about 150 chapels. The priesthood in the Syrian churches is hereditary in the families which St. Thomas invested with the sacred office. They acknowledge neither the infallibility of the Pope nor the divinity of the Virgin Mary; they do not worship the images of the saints, nor have they any confession; they approximate, therefore, in these respects to the Protestant church; their ritual, however, is Latin.

Jews, Abyssinians, Arabs, and Chinese, are likewise met with in considerable numbers in British India.

* They were not persecuted either by the Mahometans or the Brahmins, but by other Christians.

In the Himalaya mountains there is a race which, though of Hindoo origin, and of the Brahminic religion, differs considerably from the other professors of that religion, and particularly in the circumstance, that, instead of polygamy, they allow polyandry, that is, the woman's right to have several husbands, to which they choose in preference brothers. Skinner gives an interesting account of them in his lately published description of the Himalaya mountains.

Independently of the various nations above mentioned, inhabiting the extensive regions of India, the Hindoo race itself is divided into several branches, as different from each other in character, appearance, and manners, as the different nations of Europe. We find among them some that are brave, warlike, and active, and others who, on the contrary, are cowardly, effeminate, and indolent. Among the former are those especially who inhabit the northern part of India, Rayapootana, the Punjab, Malwah, Oude, and Rohilcund.* In Rayapootana, for instance (a country of nearly equal extent with Hungary), you may fancy yourself carried back to the middle ages in Europe, and to the whole system of feudalism. On the summits of the mountains you find fortified castles, with walls and watch-towers, nowise inferior to those whose ruins still adorn the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. There the noble Raypoot resides, sur-

* The inhabitants affirm that they are all by birth Ketrys.

rounded by his vassals, like the ancient feudal lords in Europe. He is seen to gird the young esquire with the sword, and to confer on him the dignity of knighthood; he is seen mounted on his spirited war-horse, with helmet and coat of mail, shield and lance, to sally forth against some hostile neighbour, the hereditary feud with whom cannot be decided without bloodshed; his daughter is seen mounted on her Arabian horse, courageously hunting the tiger, or tenderly nursing the wounded warrior in her father's castle.*

A very different picture presents itself in the Punjab,† at no great distance from Rayapootana, in the country of the warlike sect of the Seiks. Like the old Romans, every Seik is at the same time a soldier and a husbandman, brave and industrious, temperate and hardy, liberal and noble-minded. The Seiks follow a doctrine which was preached by a holy man, Baba Nanuk, in the 16th century, a pure deism, yet founded on the doctrine of Brahma, but not recognising its idolatrous worship. Their temples are dedicated to the Incomprehensible. Divine service is in general performed by night, when the temples are splendidly illuminated, and their holy city is called Umritzer. There is a sect among the Seiks who are

* Some of these castles are so large that they may be compared to Warwick Castle, and not inferior, in any respect, to the ancient castles of Germany.

† The kingdom of Lahore.

so fanatical in their belief, that Christians and Mahometans cannot appear among them without the hazard of their lives. They, however, hate the latter worst of all, and they are, therefore, a good bulwark for India against their Mahometan neighbours in Afghanistan. Their king is Runjeet Sing, a Napoleon in miniature, who founded his kingdom,† and, what is better, has been able to preserve it. His army consists of 30,000 men, of whom about 10,000 are disciplined in the European manner by French and Italian officers.‡

To the south-west of Rayapootana, about the river Nerbudda, we find another nation, the Mahrattas, quite dissimilar to the preceding. At the end of last century, this people, which is fanatically devoted to the religion of Brahma, had conquered the greater part of Hindostan, including Delhi itself. With the rapidity of the wind, 30,000 or 40,000 of their cavalry would attack a state, often at a very great distance,

* See Jacquemont's Letters on India and Cashmere, published at Paris in 1834.

† Runjeet Sing's dominion, called Lahore, consists of the whole Punjab (*i. e.* the marshy but very fertile countries between the Indus and the five great rivers which fall into it), Peshawer, a province in Afghanistan, and the wonderfully beautiful land of Cashmere, in the Himalaya mountains.

‡ General Allard, a Frenchman (lately dead), and General Ventura, an Italian. The Seik banner is Napoleon's tricoloured flag, with an eagle. The word of command is given in French.

lay waste, ravage, and destroy everything on their way; and even now, notwithstanding the strict vigilance of the British power, their cavalry is still formidable.

Still more savage than the Mahrattas are the Pindarees, who inhabit nearly the same parts of India, and are, in fact, but a tribe of banditti, but of such a formidable description, that only fifteen years ago they had 30,000 cavalry in the field. (Things are on a large scale in India.)

As a contrast to these warlike tribes, we find, on the eastern parts of the Peninsula, in Bengal, the Circars, and the Carnatic, an effeminate, weak, pusillanimous people, who labour as serfs in their own fields, plant their indigo, or tend their sugar-canes, perfectly indifferent who holds dominion in India, whether the Moguls, the Mahrattas, or the English, desiring nothing more than to be allowed to gather their harvests in peace, and to offer sacrifice in the temples of their gods.

The cities, temples, and dwellings of these several people are as different from each other as the people themselves. Delhi, the ancient capital of the Moguls, where the race of Tamerlane, a shadow of what it once was, still holds the imperial throne, is surrounded with ruins, which are nothing inferior in extent and grandeur to the ruins of Rome, the eternal city! Not far from Delhi is the second capital of the Moguls, the magnificent Agra, the marble palaces of which

(especially Taj-Mahal) are scarcely exceeded by anything in Europe, either for splendour of architecture or for elevation of style. More to the south, in the great peninsula of India, in Satara, the city of Bijapore, the former capital of the Sultans, a second Palmyra, with 1,400 mosques, almost all of them lying in ruins, and among them one (Burra Gamboor) with a dome larger than that of St. Paul's in London, and nearly equal to that of St. Peter's at Rome; and another (Jumna Musjed), with Gothic vaults like those of the cathedral of Seville, but inlaid with gold and lapis lazuli.

If, on the other hand, we would see Europe transferred to India, we must visit Calcutta. The buildings and quays in this city of palaces rival in extent and magnificence those of St. Petersburg. The equipages and shops are in no respect inferior to those of London and Paris, and the style of living of the inhabitants is the same as that of the elegant and polished classes in the great European cities.

The true capital of India, however, is Benares, the holy city of the Hindoos, on the banks of the Ganges, with its marble stairs leading down to the river, the gilded cupolas of its pagodas, and its observatory which has existed for thirty centuries. More than 100,000 pilgrims, from the remotest parts of India, perform their devotions and wash out their sins in the waters of the Ganges. The number of the inhabitants amounts to half a million; the houses are of

hewn stone, five stories high; the streets are like labyrinths. There the oxen sacred to Brahma push with impunity the superstitious pilgrim with their horns, if he does not make way for them, and a thousand monkeys, sacred to Humanam, scratch without hindrance the poor inhabitants; while a thousand peacocks, sacred to Mahadeva, increase the incessant noise by their screams. But it is a fine sight to behold the countless multitude descend the broad marble steps at sunrise, to perform their devotions in the waves of the Ganges, and put up their prayers to Brahma.

In this country, with its civilization of fifty centuries, everything is peculiar, grand, and romantic, from the steel-clad knight of Rayapootana to the Brahmin who worships the idol at Juggernaut; from the Mahratta on his fleet war-horse, to the Nabob on his heavy elephant; from the Amazon who courageously chases the tiger, to the Bayadere who voluptuously sacrifices in the temples of her gods. Nature, too, in this glorious country, is clad in glowing and varied colours, with its burning skies, and its hurricanes and tempests, with its luxuriant tropical vegetation, and its sandy deserts, its Himalaya, and boundless plains. How petty, colourless, and monotonous does everything in Europe appear compared with this greatness! Still more in flat and prosaic America, which may have its railways and steamers, but is destitute of history, and its great recollections.

We feel in our own breast how these affect and elevate the human heart. Does not the Scamander, the petty stream where Achilles fell, cause the heart to beat more warmly than the gigantic Mississippi? Yes; the past is the poetry of the heart, the present its often colourless drama; the future, the fateful enigma of which the solution is in the hand of the Almighty.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE DIVISION OF CASTES AMONG THE HINDOOS.

THE basis of social order among the Hindoos is the division into castes. The origin of it is found in the doctrine of Brahma itself, the sacred books of which, the Vedas, Shastras, and Upanishad receives it as a religious dogma. This alone can account for the singular phenomenon, that a form of society so contrary to that love of equality which is so deeply implanted in the human heart, should have been able to keep its ground with so little alteration for the period of more than fifty centuries.

According to the sacred books of the Hindoos, Brahma created four kinds of men, each of which formed its own caste. He created the first from his head, these are the Brahmins, whose business it is to govern and instruct mankind; the second he created out of his arms, Khetrys, to defend and protect them; the third out of his body, Vaisyas, to nourish and preserve them; the fourth out of his feet, Sudras, to serve and to obey the other castes.

According to this law, the Brahmin has reserved to himself exclusively the right of expounding the sacred books; and therefore he alone can hold the dignity of the priesthood, from which the other castes

are wholly excluded. The Brahmin is likewise a physician, for sickness is considered as a punishment for certain transgressions; he is the judge, for who can be better acquainted with the laws, which are all contained in the sacred books, and which he alone has the right to explain?*

Besides these occupations, which are reserved for him alone, the Brahmin may follow those which belong to the two next castes, bear arms like the Khetrys, and carry on trade like the Vaisyas. From these several occupations arise the different classes which exist among them. The highest is the class which expounds the sacred writings (that is, the priests): its members are treated with the greatest reverence, even by kings; their lands are exempt from all taxes, they themselves are free from corporal punishment, and to kill a Brahmin would be the most horrible of all crimes. But these great advantages and privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins, are counterbalanced by duties so numerous and severe, that (celibacy excepted) very few of our European monastic orders undertake anything that can be compared with them. The Brahmin must pass a great many years in the house of his teacher (Gooroo) till he has learnt to explain the Vedas well, which requires long and extensive study. Then, and not before, he may, or rather he must, marry, and become the father of a family. The

* In the same manner as the laws of the Mahometans are contained in the Koran.

whole of their daily life is prescribed by a strict ritual. The many prayers, ablutions, and sacrifices to which they are bound, take up a great portion of their time; the facility with which they may be defiled (which can be repaired only by penances) makes extreme vigilance necessary. They do not dare eat with a person of another caste, not even with a prince. They dare not kill any animal unless it be used for sacrifice, and must eat no meat unless it be the flesh of a victim offered as sacrifice. In old age, it is a rule, or at least a custom, to retire into solitude, there to give themselves up to contemplation, by which alone Nirvana (*i. e.* absorption into the Supreme Being), the highest degree of bliss, can be attained. Among themselves they have a hierarchy, which is rigorously observed, and which subjects them to severe punishments. This is the more necessary, as the number of Brahmins who perform service is very great, for instance, in Jaggernaut, not fewer than 3,000, and therefore strict discipline is necessary to preserve order.

It is remarkable that the caste of the Brahmins is distinguished throughout India from all the lower castes (even from the Tamulians, the Telingas, and the Mahrattas, the original and darker coloured inhabitants of the peninsula) by a lighter and finer complexion, nobler features, and a more lofty and better proportioned stature.

The second caste, the Khetrys or warriors, has undergone great changes in consequence of the

repeated conquests to which India has been exposed. Under such circumstances this caste could not remain in its original form, for the storm necessarily assailed them first; they have consequently almost ceased to be a caste, and have become rather a distinct people, who, in addition to the profession of arms, follow also the peaceable occupations of trade, agriculture and manufactures, handicrafts, &c. All the inhabitants of Rajpootana (who are called Raypoots), consider themselves as of the caste of the Khetrys, so also do the inhabitants of Malwah, Bundelcund, Oude, the Punjab, and Merva. They resemble, in this respect, the inhabitants of Biscay in Spain, who affirm that they are, every one of them, noblemen. The law allows the Khetrys to hear the Vedas, but not to read them, much less to explain them. They are to give alms, but not to receive them; to abstain from sensual enjoyments, and to live in a simple manner as becomes warriors. With a few exceptions, all the kings, princes, and great men in India belong to this caste, and on this account it may be considered as the first, though, according to the law of the Vedas, it is subordinate to the caste of the Brahmins.

The third class, the Vaisyas, is the working or industrious class, and consists of tradesmen, mechanics, and peasants. These, however, constitute each a distinct branch of the general caste, and then again fall into numerous subdivisions, almost entirely

corresponding with our companies and guilds in Europe, such as goldsmiths, cabinet-makers, carpenters, potters, &c. In Bengal, where the division of caste is more rigidly observed than in the other parts of India, these subdivisions do not blend together, even by marriages, so that the goldsmiths and potters almost make each a separate caste.

The Brahmins, Khetrys, and Vaisyas wear the girdle, or lace, called *zenar*, which is different for each caste. They are therefore called in the laws of Menu, the New-born, because the binding with the girdle is looked upon as a new birth.

The fourth caste, the Sudras, do not belong to the new-born (because not invested with the girdle or lace) ; they are called the Once-born. A Sudra, says Menu, does best when he serves a Brahmin, then a Khetry, and then a Vaisya. If he has no opportunity to serve one of these, he may exercise some useful handicraft. He who faithfully serves a Brahmin will rise, in a future transmigration of the soul, into a higher class.

The laws of Menu allow the three higher classes to contract mixed marriages, but only in case of a second marriage, when a man of a higher caste may take a wife of a lower. A woman of a higher caste, on the contrary, may never marry a man of a lower. To rank in the caste it is necessary to be descended from a father and mother of equal birth. The son of a Brahmin must therefore have a Brahminic

mother to entitle him to rank as a Brahmin. The Sudras can marry only in their own caste; intermarriage with Sudras produces an impure caste. The most impure of all are the Parias, who, however, form at present rather a distinct race (not a caste, for they are excluded from all castes) than one originating in mixed marriages. The degradation of a Paria is such, that even his shadow falling on a Brahmin defiles the latter, and obliges him to purify himself in the waves of the Ganges.

The number of the castes has been so increased by mixed marriages, that it now amounts in Bengal to eighty-four, each of which has its own name and its peculiar profession.

The greatest misfortune that can befal a Hindoo is to lose his caste, to which he may be condemned by a court of justice; the very sight of him is avoided; he is driven away wherever he appears; the ban of the middle ages was nothing in comparison.

The castes of India cannot with propriety be compared with the different ranks of society in Europe. The caste of the Brahmins (the Indian priesthood) is hereditary, which is not the case with the Christian clergy, who have nothing to do with the rights of birth; who are taken from the mass of the people; and whose ranks are open to the poor as well as to the rich, to the plebeian as well as to the patrician. Equality, as far as birth is concerned, is one of the

first principles of Christianity, laid down by the Founder himself and the Apostles. From this equality, indeed, arose, in the sequel, the hierarchy, which can raise the son of the low to equal dignity with the son of the high,—nay sometimes with the son of the prince, or king; but the point of starting is the same, and the way is open to every kind of merit, whereas birth alone opens the way to the Hindoo tiara. But if the caste of the Brahmins has little similarity with our clergy, still less can it be compared with the European nobility; the spirit of the latter is chivalrous and warlike, whereas the Brahmins are a class of peaceable teachers, who are forbidden to shed blood; subject in youth to the severest probation, in manhood to the most abstemious mode of life, and in old age to that of anchorites. The advantages of the Brahmins, therefore, properly speaking, extend only to the intellectual world (a spiritual power), not to the material world with power and riches, which are the chief objects of the European nobility. They cannot, therefore, be compared with each other.

The caste of the Khetrys, or warriors, has still less resemblance with the European nobles, as their advantages above the other castes are often nothing more than that of being allowed, as common soldiers, to shed their blood in the service of their masters, now the East India Company, in which service the Khetry, like any other native, can never attain a higher rank

than that of non-commissioned officer.* Notwithstanding the high origin of the Khetry, from Brahma's own arm, he has, therefore, none of the advantages possessed by the nobles in most countries in Europe.

Now as neither the Khetrys nor the Brahmins (and, still less, any other caste) can be compared with the nobility of Europe, or answer the idea of an aristocracy, it follows that this aristocratic element is wholly wanting in the political institutions of India; hence it is that the despotism of the Indian princes is so unlimited, so cruel, so sanguinary, and that the people, trodden under foot and incapable of resistance (for which some consolidating bond of union is necessary), have done so little to defend their country and their homes against the foreign invaders, who have conquered it in the course of so many centuries, and have so often amply realized the words of Brennus to the vanquished Romans, *Væ victis!*

Every page of the history of the world proves that those states which have not had in their composition the aristocratic element (taken in its noble acceptation, open to merit of every description, like the English peerage, not exclusive, like the patrician dignity of Rome and Venice) have soon degenerated either

* Though each company in the Anglo-Indian army has a Hindoo captain, lieutenant, and ensign, yet these officers, even the captain, are under the command of the English ensign, and consequently cannot be considered as any more than non-commissioned officers.

into the despotism of one, or into the perhaps still worse despotism of the democracy, against the absolute power of which the citizen finds no protection.*

* Tocqueville, in his masterly work on North America, has the following remarks in the chapter headed "The Tyranny of the Majority."

"What I especially object to democratic government, as I find it in the United States of North America, is not, as many persons in Europe believe, its weakness, but its irresistible strength; and what especially displeases me in that country is not the too great liberty that prevails there, but the insufficient security that a man has against tyranny. If a man or a party in North America suffers wrong, to whom shall application be made to obtain justice? To public opinion? It is that which makes the majority. To the Legislative Assembly? This represents the majority, which it blindly obeys. To the executive power? This, too, is nominated or elected by that majority. To the armed force? This is no other than the same majority under arms. To the judicial power? But this, too, emanates from the majority. However unjust or unreasonable the conduct under which he suffers may be, he has no alternative but to submit to it patiently, and without appeal."

The justice of Tocqueville's observations has been again confirmed, partly by the repeated application of Lynch law (the most tyrannical power that can be conceived, where a mob thrusts out the eyes of a person displeasing to it), and partly by the fearful financial crisis, which originated in the hatred of the democratic party to every kind of superiority, even that of property, which, in general, closely follows hatred of the advantages of birth or rank.

While aristocratic England is seen to make the greatest sacrifices in order to abolish slavery, at the same time that democratic America applies Lynch law to those who but venture to

History teaches us that all those nations which have peformed great deeds, and at the same time pre-

pronounce the words negro emancipation, we find in which of the two moral worth preponderates, whether in the aristocratical or the democratical portion of society.

The ridiculous feature in the character of these ultra-democrats, who will not tolerate any aristocratic ingredient in civil society, is, that they chase a vision which eludes their grasp, a Fata Morgana in the desert, which they can never reach; for whatever they may undertake, however much they may level, there still remains a kind of aristocracy, which eludes and scorns their efforts, were it no other than a cowherd aristocracy, like that in the Swiss Cantons, against which the goatherd democracy entertains the most irreconcileable hatred.

The dissensions between these aristocratic cowherds, who are called Hornmen, and the democratic goatherds, who are called Clawmen, is carried to such a height, that the Swiss Confederation has lately been obliged to send troops to keep the contending parties in order. According to an official report made to the federal government, the aristocratic Hornmen rule the small Cantons as if they were conquered provinces, and retaining the democratic forms, exercise a perfect tyranny, convoke assemblies, issue Cantonal resolutions, make laws, &c., while no Clawman dares to show himself at those assemblies, much less to vote. In the very terms of the official report, " the total ruin of the Canton is to be foreseen, unless the confederation, or a foreign power, shall interfere to restore order."

A still more afflicting picture of the state of the democratic Cantons of Switzerland, is given by Sismondi, the celebrated historian of the Italian Republics. In an admirable essay recently published (1836), under the title of " Etudes sur les Constitutions des Peuples libres," the liberal spirit of which is generally acknowledged, he says—

" The Cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden have a purely

served their freedom, from the Roman to the British, have always had a more or less influential aristocracy,

democratic constitution; it was not thought necessary to introduce among shepherds, nearly equal in property and education, a conservative or restraining power, and accordingly universal suffrage (the motto of the Radicals in England) was established, so that every native, without exception, has a right to vote in the Cantonal assemblies. But how do the resolutions of the most unlimited democracy turn out? So tyrannical and retrograde that these Cantons are the only states in Europe (Russia and Turkey not excepted), which retain the use of torture in their courts of justice, sell recruits to serve in the armies of foreign powers, and impose the severest restrictions on the freedom of the press, enforced by the censorship, and the penalty of death!"

Such, then, are the results of unmingled supreme democracy, as well in great republics, like North America, as in the smaller ones, like Switzerland, in their spirit not a whit better than unlimited despotism, or an aristocracy bound by no laws. A mixture of the three elements alone can found and preserve true freedom. This is the testimony of history, and in this the wisest men of all ages agree. What does Cicero, one of the best practical philosophers, say in his admirable essay, "De Republica?" "Of the three forms of government, monarchy is the best; but better than monarchy is a mixture, and a balance of the three forms of civil society."

But if, to return to our Hornmen, their example again proves what all history testifies, that perfect equality is not possible, because at all times some one class raises itself above the others, and that this class, were it even selected from democratic elements, is always the harshest and the most tyrannical; the question returns, which is best for a people,—an aristocracy of birth, more formed by education, more independent through its wealth, more patriotically inclined through historical recollections, or a cowherd aristocracy?

for the aristocratic element is undoubtedly that which proceeds in its objects with the greatest perseverance and consistency; the mass of the people may be misled by its ignorance, or hurried away by the impressions of the moment. Kings may be deceived by those about them, or impelled by their passions: they are unsteady in their objects, they are mortal. An aristocratic class, on the contrary, is too numerous to be misled, and not numerous enough to be led away by the impressions of the moment. It resembles a firm and enlightened man, who does not die.

CHAPTER VI.

CONQUESTS OF HINDOSTAN.

A VIEW of these conquests is a summary of the entire history of Hindostan for the last 800 years, during which it has constantly been the prey of foreign dominion, and often of the most oppressive kind. It has, therefore, not shared the happy lot of those nations whose history is short and dull; a sure proof that their destinies have been tranquil and peaceable: the annals of Hindostan are written in characters of blood, and abound in human misery.

To describe these destinies at length would be an undertaking too extensive, and probably beyond my power; all that I can here give is a summary view, and that rather as an introduction to the British power in the East, than as pretending to greater historical value.

Herodotus, the Father of History, relates that, after Cyrus had conquered a large portion of Asia, and his third successor, Darius Hystaspes, had extended his conquests towards the Indian peninsula, the northern part of India (now called the Punjab) was one of the 24 provinces subject to Darius Hystaspes.* It must have been about 160 years after

* This is the opinion of Major Rennel, who has published the best geographical description of India.

his death, that Alexander the Great began his campaign against India, probably because it had ceased to pay tribute to the Persian empire, which he had conquered.

After this time (about 300 years before the birth of Christ), it seems as if India had not been disturbed by foreign conquerors during a period of no less than 1,300 years, in which it enjoyed the blessings of peace and security. But the storm was approaching, which was subsequently to desolate India for more than 800 years. It began in the tenth century with the invasion of the Turcomans, a people who, though before unknown, were now to begin to act an important part in this part of the world.

These people, dwelling at first in the Altai mountains, and afterwards in the sandy deserts between the Oxus and the Caspian, where they still lead a nomade and predatory life, had made themselves masters of a part of Afghanistan, and there founded a kingdom, which was called after its capital, Ghizni, situated not far from the Indus. From time to time these Turcomans, who now called themselves also Afghans, made incursions into the plains of India, where Mahmud, one of their sultans, succeeded in subduing the northern part of Hindostan from Cashmere to Gujerat, establishing his residence at Delhi. It was about 200 years after these conquests, that Gengis, a Mongol of mean birth, who, by his courage and prudence, had raised himself to the dignity of Khan of his tribe, begun to appear as

a bloody meteor in the scene of Asia. Gengis Khan had already conquered part of China,* when he advanced, with a prodigious army of Mongol cavalry, against the countries of Central Asia (Bactriana, Eran, Khorassan), thence to the western parts, and, lastly, to Europe, where he subdued the greater part of Russia and Poland. After this victorious career, Gengis Khan returned to the shores of the Caspian, died in 1227, and left his immense empire, which extended from Pekin to Cracow, and from the Indus to the Oder, to his three sons, one of whom was the first of the Mongols who penetrated to Hindostan, in 1242. The expedition did not, however, lead to any important consequences, and the Afghan sultan remained on the throne of Delhi. As a proof of the riches and the power which the latter already possessed at that time, it may suffice to mention that (according to Ferishta, the Persian historian) an ambassador of Hoolakool, a grandson of Gengis Khan, was received by the Sultan's vizier with 50,000 cavalry, 2,000 elephants, and 3,000 fire-worker's carriages, a kind of Congreve rocket. His power is shown by the fact, that 24 kings and princes, who had fled from the sword of the Mongols, or had now lost their dominions,† lived at that time at the court of Delhi.

The incursions of the Mongols continued with

* His conquests did not extend, at the beginning, further south than Pekin.

† Mill's History of India.

varying success for more than two centuries, but did not hinder the Turcoman, or rather the Afghan dynasty from maintaining itself on the throne of Delhi, which now began to be shaken, more by internal troubles than by foreign invasion.

About this time a new meteor appeared in the horizon of India; Timur Khan, better known in Europe by the name of Tamerlane.* Timur was the son of a chief who commanded 10,000 horse, and was born in 1358, in the city of Samarcand. At that time a fierce civil war raged in the kingdom of which that city was the capital.† Timur, having first succeeded in attaining supreme power there, formed one of those colossal empires, of which there are few examples in the history of the world.

After subduing Persia, Mesopotamia, and Tartary, Timur turned his arms (in 1397) against Hindostan, and succeeded in conquering a great part of it. The Mongol chief, who, like Julius Cæsar, has recorded his own exploits, is probably the best to give an account of them. His work, "Timur Khan's Political and Military Institutions," has been translated into Persian by Abu Tauleb, and from the Persian into English by Major Davy. The following are

* The Mongols pronounce the syllables *ti* and *ta*, and likewise *la* and *kha*, so nearly alike, that it is difficult to determine which mode of spelling Timurkhan or Tamerlane, is the nearest to the Mongol pronunciation.

† This kingdom was composed of the great provinces of Zagatai, Transoxiana, Khorassan, Bactria, Candahar, and Cabul.

his own words; they are distinguished by that simple grandeur, of which the Bible is the best instance.

"I ordered 1,000 swift-footed camels, 1,000 swift-footed horses, and 1,000 chosen infantry to march, and bring me information respecting the Princes of India. I learned that Tonktumisch Khan had been defeated by Auroos Khan, and sought assistance from me. Received information that the Princes of India were at variance with each other; that Mahmud in Delhi, Mulloo in Lahore, and Sanrüng in Moultan, were hostilely disposed towards each other. The conquest appeared to me to be easy, though my soldiers thought it was dangerous. Resolved to undertake it, and to make myself master of the Indian empire; did so. Received then the news that the Emperor in Rome* had invaded my western provinces, and that the people of Georgia had conquered some of my fortresses in that country. Then I thought, if I pursue my conquests in India, Eran may revolt; therefore, I regulated my kingdom in Hindostan, and marched from that country against the Roman Emperor, whose provinces I conquered." How different is this concise, nervous style, from the tedious prolixity of our modern memoirs!

* In central Asia, the Sultan at Constantinople is, even now, universally called the Caliph of Rome. Bajazet (Ilderim) is probably meant here; who at that time had conquered Rumelia, and had his chief residence at Adrianople. The last of the Paleologi reigned then at Constantinople, but possessed little more than that capital.

Tamerlane's instructions to the generals of his cavalry may even now serve as models. They have been translated from the Mongol into English, and I hope they will be translated into Swedish.

Tamerlane, who had penetrated with the rapidity of the wind from Samarcand to Delhi, and had overturned the Afghan dynasty, had not founded any dominion of his own in its stead. Hindostan was divided into several distinct states; a civil war ensued (of which Ferishta gives the best account), and this led to a state of anarchy, which continued till 1525, when Baber, Sultan of Samarcand, descended on the father's side from Tamerlane, and on the mother's side from Gengis Khan, undertook an expedition against Hindostan, gained a battle at Paniput,* and made himself Emperor of Delhi. The Grand Moguls, who in some measure still fill the throne of Delhi, are descendants of this Sultan Baber; they are therefore descendants both of Tamerlane and Gengis Khan,

This ancient dynasty, with a number of tyrants, has produced some eminent men. Among them we may justly place Akbar, one of the greatest sovereigns of India; his grandson, Shah Jehan, who has left some noble monuments; and Aurengzebe, son of Jehan, with whom Europe was made more particularly

* Paniput lies rather to the north of Delhi, and is remarkable from the circumstance that the fate of Hindostan has been several times decided there.

acquainted by Bernier's account in his Travels. Aurengzebe died in 1707. His powerful empire was again desolated by civil wars, which opened the way to India to a new conqueror, Nadir Shah (called, likewise, Thamas Kouli Khan). Nadir, who was the son of a shepherd of Khorassan, began his remarkable career as a highway robber; but in one of those political revolutions which so frequently occur in despotic countries, he rose to the dignity of Shah of Persia, and in 1739 penetrated to Delhi; plundering, burning, and laying waste, not sparing even the child in the cradle. After a dreadful massacre, he, however, gave the throne to the weak Muhamed, a son of Aurengzebe, and soon afterwards returned to Ispahan, with the most prodigious booty recorded in history. Among it was the throne, representing the tail of a peacock displayed, composed of precious stones, which still adorns the audience chamber in the palace at Teheran, the residence of the sovereigns of Persia; where the Shah, surrounded by his great officers of state, one of whom is the executioner, announces his absolute will, and by a sign points out the head which the humour of the day has selected to fall; a true type of despotism when it has attained its due height, that is, when (like Radicalism) it has reduced all to one level.

The state of weakness to which the Mogul empire had been brought by the sanguinary expedition of the Persians, was now taken advantage of by a native race, the Mahrattas, completely to overturn the im-

perial throne at Delhi. The Mahrattas, whose abode is in central India, particularly Candeish, Berar, and Arungabad, about the river Nerbudda, are a wild but warlike people, who say themselves, that their prince's throne is the horse's back, their sceptre the sword, and their country every one that they can conquer.* As a symbol of their manner of proceeding, the Mahratta, when he sets out for the war cuts off a handful of ears of corn with his scymetar, and sprinkles his horse with blood. Their energetic resistance against the Mongol Emperors of Delhi prevented them for many years from being subdued by them. Their power, divided among many princes, would, however, have been finally overthrown, had not one of those great men arisen among them, who form kingdoms, and decide their fate. This man was Sevajée; his life an uninterrupted chain of the most romantic adventures of the East, which ended in his uniting all the scattered principalities of the Mahrattas under his own power, and establishing a kingdom sufficiently powerful in the end to overturn the imperial throne of Delhi. The Mahratta state then received a form of government which resembled that of the German empire in the 17th and 18th centuries, with a Peishwa (a kind of Emperor) at the head, whose residence was at Poonah, a large and beautiful town, at the foot of the western Gauts.

* The Lacedemonians said that every country belonged to them that could be reached by the points of their lances.

We now approach that period which is properly the object of this Essay, namely, when the English appear on the political stage of India. They had certainly long before established trading factories in India, but we do not find them there as conquerors before 1760. Their first mercantile establishment was founded in 1611 at Surat, on the western coast of India; the second in Madras, on the coast of Coromandel, 1654; and the third in Bombay, 1664. These factories possessed, however, no political influence whatever in the internal concerns of India, where the Portuguese, afterwards the Dutch, and, finally, the French, had considerably preceded the English.

A singular incident was, however, to lay the foundation of the English power in India. A physician, named Boughton, who had accompanied a British envoy from the factory at Surat to the Great Mogul in Agra (Shah Jehan), succeeded in saving the life of his favourite daughter, and received, as a recompense, the right of free trade over the whole of the Mogul empire. Boughton sold this right to the Company (1656), who did not neglect to make use of it immediately, by establishing a new factory on the banks of the Hoogly,* in Bengal, near the place where Calcutta now majestically rises, with its palaces, and its million of inhabitants.

The new factory in Bengal, as well as the older

* A branch of the Ganges.

ones in Surat, Bombay, and Madras, now more and more extended their trade in India, but, nevertheless, did not for a long time gain any political influence, which, as we have already observed, was possessed rather by the Portuguese in Goa, the Dutch in Negapatnam, and the French in Pondichery and Chandernagore. In the year 1756, a dispute took place between the English factory in Bengal and the Nabob, which, from its consequences, became of the greatest importance. The English had, without permission, fortified their factory, which caused the Nabob to attack and take it. The English garrison was thrown into a dark dungeon, where they perished in the most wretched manner from heat and want of fresh air. As soon as the news of this cruelty arrived at Madras, where Colonel Clive had the command, he determined, with the small force of 900 soldiers, then on the spot, immediately to repair to Bengal, to revenge the murder that had been committed. Clive retook the fort, and shortly afterwards marched with his little force against an army of 20,000 men, sent against him by the Nabob, defeated this body, and obtained, as conditions of peace, the right of fortifying the English factory,* and of uninterruptedly continuing the trade in all parts of the country.

Soon afterwards a civil war between two pretenders to the Bengal crown, gave Clive an opportunity of

* This fortress is called Fort William.

joining one of them, Meer Jaffier; while the other (Surajee) was supported by the French, who then also possessed a fort in Bengal, at Chandernagore, somewhat higher up the river Hoogly than the English factory.

Surajee had collected an army of 60,000 men, with 50 pieces of cannon, and principally commanded by French officers. Clive marched against this army with a force of only 900 English soldiers, 2,000 Sepoys, and 10 pieces of cannon, and totally defeated Surajee,* who, being deserted by his soldiers, fled, but was afterwards taken prisoner by his own men, and finally murdered. The throne of Bengal fell to his competitor Meer Jaffier, under the protection of the English.

It is from this remarkable victory, that the British power in India arose; and Clive is its real founder.

As a compensation for the expenses of the war and losses sustained, Meer Jaffier paid to the English a sum of not less than 22,000,000 of silver rupees;† but still greater was the political advantage which this victory obtained for the English Company, which now considered that it had a right to appoint the Nabob of Bengal,‡ a right which before belonged

* At Plassaye.

† A silver rupee is worth about half-a-crown.

‡ Bengal, which includes the whole delta of the lower Ganges, is probably the most fertile country in the world, with an almost inexhaustible vegetation of the richest products, as cotton, indigo, sugar, &c.

only to the Great Mogul, under whose imperial sceptre Bengal was. It was with a force of 900 Britons, that this conquest was made; but they had a Clive as their leader.

The Dutch, whose envy was greatly raised by this success of the English arms, made an attempt against Calcutta, but were also beaten by Colonel Clive. Two other attempts to regain Bengal were made by the Mogul Emperors in the beginning of 1760; but neither of these had any success, though Clive was then gone to Europe.

In the year 1768 this great man returned to India, having been raised to the rank of Governor-General. He saw the necessity, in the position the English then had, of not discontinuing the victorious career they had entered upon, by which all would have been again lost. Clive, therefore, commenced his political and military manœuvres, and succeeded, in the course of a few years, partly by force of arms, partly by treaty, in engaging the Emperor of Delhi, for a yearly income of £325,000, which the Company insured to him, to resign all his rights to Bengal; and the Nabob Nudschim ul Dowla, son of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, for a yearly income of £662,000, also to resign all his claims on the same country; by which means the British power, now founded on official treaties, was completely established in Bengal.

Shortly afterwards Clive induced the King of Oude also to place himself, in the character of a feudal prince, under the British sceptre. In this way

the British power in India had, within the short time of ten years, risen from a commercial factory to a kingdom, with 30,000,000 of subjects, and a yearly revenue of 25,000,000 of rupees. This power was still further increased (1775) by the surrender of Benares, one of the most populous and important provinces of India, which was given up to the Company by the King of Oude.

During these giant strides made by the British arms in Bengal and the northern parts of India, their policy was not less fortunate in the south, where they gained (1778) the considerable provinces of Guntoor and the Circars, from the Nizam* in the Deccan, who was before under the power of the Great Mogul, but was then an independent and very powerful prince with 10,000,000 of subjects. At this time the post of Governor-General of India was filled by a renowned statesman, Warren Hastings; who, next to Clive, may be considered as the founder of that immense empire in Asia which is now under the British sceptre.

Hastings governed there from 1772 till 1785; being recalled to England, to defend himself against the impeachment brought against him by the House of Commons, his trial became a *cause célèbre* in Europe, to which, however, Burke's oratorical powers especially contributed. It lasted seven years; and had, if no other, the advantage of making India and

* Nizam may be translated by governor, viceroy, or regent.

its form of government better known to the British Parliament than it was before. Warren Hastings was acquitted (1795). The accusations against him, of having exercised oppression upon the people of India, were answered by the love and blessings of those people; that of his having received bribes to the value of millions, by his evident poverty; and that of his having neglected his duties as Governor, by the title generally given him in India, of political saviour of the country.*

During this time, however, one of those great men had risen on the horizon of India, who from the lowest ranks in society have, through courage, prudence, and perseverance, raised themselves to the highest. This man was Hyder Ali. In his youth a camel-driver, afterwards a private soldier, and, finally, King, in the country where he was born a humble subject, the hereditary princes of which he kept in prison, and their followers even in iron cages. Hyder Ali was one of those statesmen who are not cruel without necessity; but, on the other hand, not merciful, if it could in the least injure him. He entertained an implacable hatred towards England, and made war several times on the Company. Supported by France, he once took possession even of Madras, the capital of the British possessions in the southern parts of India, but was obliged to relinquish it. He died in 1782, during a new campaign against Ma-

* See Wilks's History of Mysore.

dras; he then had more than 90,000 men in the field, and left these, together with the throne of Mysore, and a treasury containing £3,000,000 sterling, to his son Tippoo Saib. The new Sultan entertained the same hate towards England as his father, and prepared, therefore, to continue the war with advantage, and complete Hyder Ali's great plan of expelling the English from India.

Lord Cornwallis was then Governor-General of India. After several campaigns he succeeded in driving Tippoo Saib back to his capital, Seringapatam; who, being defeated there also, was obliged to deliver up his sons as hostages, to pay £3,000,000, and to cede to the English that part of his kingdom which lay along the coast of Malabar; a territory of 24,000 square miles. The peace did not, however, last long; Tippoo had received his sons back in 1798, and immediately commenced secret negotiations with the Peishwa, the chief of the Mahratta confederation; with the Nizam, who had 12,000 infantry, organized in the European manner by French officers, besides an irregular army of 80,000 men; and with the French, who then had possession of Egypt. With the latter, Tippoo made a treaty, in which he was promised an auxiliary force of 30,000 men, who were to go from the Isle of France and Isle of Bourbon to Mysore; and this at a time when the English navy could hinder the approach of every boat towards the Indian coasts. But,

led astray by these delusive promises, Tippoo Saib again declared war against England, and commenced with hostile demonstrations against the British possessions; he also, ridiculously enough for an Asiatic despot, set up a pole before his palace in Seringapatam, on which he placed the red jacobin-cap of France, and took the title of French citizen, together with that of Sultan of Mysore.

At this time the happy star of England had placed a great and remarkable man at the head of the government of India; the Marquis of Wellesley (then Lord Mornington), elder brother of the still greater and more remarkable Duke of Wellington, with whom he shared the uncommonly honourable lot of being, above all others, instrumental in deciding the fate of two hemispheres—that of India by the defeat of Tippoo Saib, and the destruction of the Mahratta power; that of Europe by the fall of the almost equally oppressive sway of Napoleon. The new Governor-General, hearing of the warlike preparations and political negociations of the Sultan of Mysore, lost no time in counteracting them. The first operation was directed against the Nizam of the Deccan, who was soon obliged to disband his troops, commanded by French officers, and with the rest of his army to join the English; the second step was to send an army of 20,000 men against Mysore (1799), which was commanded by General Harris, under him by General Baird, and by Colonel Arthur Wellesley, now Duke

of Wellington. It was the latter who first met Tippoo Saib's army, and, although much inferior in strength, by means of a charge with the bayonet, obliged him to fly. Tippoo now threw himself into his fortified city of Seringapatam, which was besieged by General Baird, and taken by storm on the 4th of March, 1799. The slaughter was dreadful; Tippoo Saib himself fell, his sons were taken prisoners, and the throne of Mysore restored to the dynasty dethroned by Hyder Ali, whose last descendant was a child only ten years of age.

Through these victories, and in consequence of some treaties with the Nabobs of the Carnatic and Tanjore, the Company obtained (1799) the dominion of a territory of more than 50,000 square miles, comprising the provinces of Coimbatoor, Canara, Wynaad, Tanjore, &c.; and the year after (1800) a further increase of 25,000 square miles, in the province of Hydrabad, formerly conquered by the Sultans of Mysore, which now fell into the possession of the Company.

While the war was carried on in so successful a manner against Tippoo Saib, the British arms were making no less considerable a progress in the northern parts of India, where the Governor-General, by means of arms and treaties, gained, in the more and more decaying Mogul Empire, the provinces of Bareilly, Meradabad, Rohilcund, Doab, and Allahabad, which, together with the conquests made in the

southern part of the peninsula, contained a population of 15,000,000, and a territory of 100,000 square miles.

Through this unbroken series of conquests and consequent territorial extension, the British power had, however, come into close contact with one of its most powerful rivals in India—the Mahrattas. Scindia, one of their princes, had then the command of an army of not less than 200,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry, organized in the European manner by French officers,* and 100 pieces of artillery. With this army Scindia had conquered almost all the dominions of the Mogul Emperor, Shah Allum, and kept him in close confinement. Delhi and Agra were taken by Scindia, who now more and more nearly threatened the English possessions in Bengal.

Lord Wellesley saw the danger, and, with the strength of character becoming a statesman, resolved to commence operations against the Mahratta confederacy. An army was sent under the command of a man remarkable in the history of the wars in British India—General Lake,† who took the field in July, 1803, and marched against Delhi, where Scindia had united his numerous army. On his arrival, Lake sent a messenger to Scindia, demanding that he should immediately release the Great

* General Perron was commander-in-chief.

† Afterwards Lord Lake.

Mogul, and reinstate him on his imperial throne; so spoke in the time of the Romans, Cæsar, Augustus, and Trajan, deciding with a few words the fate of kingdoms; so did Lake defeat Scindia in two engagements, at Coel in the province of Doab, and under the walls of Delhi. In the latter the main body of the British army had not yet come up, so that Lake's whole force was not more than 4,500 men, and only half of these Europeans. Scindia's army was still 20,000 men, commanded principally by French officers, and the positions of the Mahrattas so strong that they could not be attacked. Lake pretended, therefore, to retreat; the Mahrattas pursued and left their position, when the English suddenly turned about, attacked, and totally destroyed them. Delhi was taken, Shah Allum, the direct descendant of Tamerlane, was liberated, and restored, if only in appearance, to the throne of his ancestors; it is true the power remained in the hands of the English, (who assigned to Shah Allum, for himself and his heirs, a yearly allowance of 1,200,000 silver rupees, together with all the honours belonging to the imperial dignity); but the change was, at all events, very fortunate for the prince, who exchanged a dark prison and the ill-treatment of the Mahrattas for all the enjoyments of an imperial throne.*

* The English policy considers it useful to retain, for the descendant of Tamerlane, a shadow of imperial dignity, for the

In a third engagement (November 1, 1803) Lake again conquered Scindia, who was obliged to agree to a peace, by which he resigned to the British Company all his rights (those of conquest) over the populous and beautiful provinces of Doab, Delhi, Agra, Hurrajana, Meerut, Etawah, Cuttak, Ballasere, and Jaggernaut, which together contain a territory of more than 40,000 square miles.

The power of the Mahrattas, although much reduced, was far from being destroyed. Hulkor (or Holkar) who, next to Scindia, was the most powerful prince in the Mahratta confederation, collected (1804) an army which amounted to 50,000 men, (of which 10,000 were infantry organized in the European manner,) with which he entered the field against the British territory, in the hope of recovering a part of those provinces taken from Scindia. Sir Arthur Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington) had the command in the provinces attacked by Holkar; his force was very inconsiderable, only 5000 men, not more than 2000 of whom were Europeans. With these he marched against Holkar, met him on a plain called Assaye, and entirely defeated him. Holkar's other troops, consisting together of nearly 40,000 men, had, in the mean time, also been defeated by Generals Fraser, Ochterlony, and Lake, (in November, 1804,)

sake of the moral influence which his ancestor's name still has over the Mahomedan population of Hindoostan.

on which account Holkar was obliged to throw himself, with the rest of his army, into the strong fortress of Bhurtpore, which was besieged, and stormed in vain four times, but on the fifth attempt it was taken by General Lake. Holkar himself was enabled to escape, but his son was taken prisoner, and the Mahrattas again lost several of their provinces, which were united with the British territory.

The Marquis of Wellesley, under whose vigorous administration these victories were achieved, left India at this time (1805). Captain Basil Hall, a distinguished naval officer and author, who then served under him, gives in his work on India the following character of this great statesman:—

"Where he placed his confidence, he gave it without hesitation. He appears invariably to have taken great pains to let his wishes be fully understood by the persons he employed, and having then furnished them with ample means, he started them off to execute the required service in their own way. Those whom he employed always felt certain of his hearty support, and sure not only of his just meed of applause, but confident that everything would be made the most of, rather to their advantage than his own." . . . "Indeed so pure and lofty a spirit seems to have guided all his measures, that he delighted in throwing off credit from himself upon those who had participated in the task."

"The consequence of this system was that every public servant in India worked under him, not only

with all the energy which belongs to independence, but with the additional stimulus of his generous companionship and assistance." "The prodigious spring and elasticity which these animating principles, guided by such a hand, and backed by such immense resources, gave to the whole Indian system, was soon felt from one end of our large territory to the other; and as the services to be executed were frequently of the utmost importance and variety, so, as if by magic, the penetrating genius of the new Governor-General always discovered and drew to light an adequate number of agents to perform his will." "In consequence, almost every enterprise, whether of a military or a civil nature, which he set on foot, succeeded in a way which astonished not only the natives, but the most long-sighted and experienced of the English themselves."*

Lord Wellesley was shortly afterwards appointed prime minister of England, in which high and important office he displayed the same great qualities that had distinguished his government in India.

The above-mentioned wars with the Mahrattas were followed by several years of tranquillity, which was used by Lord Minto, then Governor-General, (and afterwards by Lord Cornwallis, who for a second time filled that important post,) in arranging the conquests made, and confirming the British power in India.

It was not long, however, before the peace was

* Capt. Basil Hall, Third Series, vol. i, p. 209.

again broken, and that by one of those phenomena which belong exclusively to the gigantic scale of the Indian world, namely, a band of robbers, consisting of 30,000 cavalry. They called themselves Pindarees, had no wives, but recruited, like the Mamelukes in Egypt, by means of stolen male children, educated in their religion, which was Mahomedanism, and in their profession—robbery. They laid waste, in the most dreadful manner, every place they approached, destroyed everything, and mercy was a word unknown to them. These banditti, who inhabited the mountainous provinces of Bhopal and Malwa, began (1817) to encroach on the boundaries of the British territory, and even there to commit the most bloody ravages. Happily for India a distinguished man again appeared then as its Governor; this was Lord Moira.* He received the Governor-Generalship in 1816, and entered the field personally against this band of robbers. As a proof of the manner in which the English power had risen since the time of Clive, when the forces amounted to a few thousand men, it may be noticed that Lord Moira's army consisted of 81,000 infantry, 33,000 cavalry, and 300 field-pieces. This force was not levied against the Pindarees alone, but also against the Mahrattas, whose Peishwa had made considerable warlike preparations, in order, if the robbers should succeed, to take advantage of the opportunity

* He afterwards received the title of Marquis of Hastings.

again to attack the British possessions. By his skilful operations Lord Moira succeeded in surrounding the army of the Pindarees, who, after two engagements (1818, 1819), were completely annihilated. The Peishwa, who had in the mean time also taken the field with a numerous army, was punished for so doing by the loss of several of his most important provinces, especially those upon the Nerbudda, by which means the company obtained a further territorial increase of 30,000 square miles. Generals Sir John Malcolm and Sir Thomas Hislopp were those who, next to Lord Moira, chiefly contributed to these conquests.

Since the above-mentioned period (1819), the English have not needed to carry on any war within the Indian peninsula, excepting a trifling one (1825) with a prince in Bhurtpore, who murdered the real heir to the throne. Lord Amherst, then Governor-General, sent an army of 25,000 men against him, under the command of Lord Combermere, who took possession of the country, together with the strong fortress of Bhurtpore, and restored the son of the murdered prince to the throne of his ancestors.

The whole of the Indian peninsula, from the Himalaya mountains and the Indus to Cape Comorin and the Straits of Ceylon, was now subject to the British sceptre, either in the form of a direct possession, or in that of subsidiary states.* From this general state of things we have only to except

* We shall explain in the sequel the meaning of this term.

the King of Lahore—Runjeet Sing, and the Ameers in Sind, who have hitherto retained a kind of independence, though it is not probable that they can expect to keep it for any great length of time.*

The British were now to have an opportunity of trying the fortune of arms out of the Indian peninsula. The Birmese commenced hostilities against the English possessions (1824); but though a warlike people, and themselves a conquering power on the other (the eastern) peninsula of India, a British army of not more than 8,000 men, under the command of Sir Archibald Campbell, was, nevertheless, able to penetrate from Rangoon, at the mouth of the Irawaddi, more than 350 English miles into the interior of the country, and there, quite close to the capital of the Birman empire, to prescribe the conditions of peace. These were, the cession of an extent of country of 560 English miles along the eastern coast of the bay of Bengal, which the King of Ava was obliged to resign to the English, together with another district almost as large, called Tenasserin, to the south of Ava; and £2,000,000 sterling, as a compensation for the expenses of the war.

Neither the bay of Bengal, nor the lofty stupendous range of the Himalaya mountains, now formed a limit to the progress of the British power; even on the other side of the gigantic chain England planted her victorious banner, and took possession of the

* This is already realised.—*Note of Translator.*

provinces of Kanawer and Hangarang, on the table-land of Thibet,* where the English empire now borders on China, and on one of its tributary provinces called Ladak.

The very brief compendium of the conquests of Hindoostan here given, among which those of the English are in many respects the most remarkable, may be suitably concluded with the repetition of the names of those men who have especially contributed to it. They are Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellesley, Baird, Cornwallis, Moira (Marquis of Hastings), Arthur Wellesley (Duke of Wellington), John Malcolm, Ochterlony, and Archibald Campbell.

* This table-land, which is more than 920 miles in circumference, lies 15,000 feet above the level of the sea (consequently higher than the top of Mont Blanc), is free from snow for the course of several months, although it has been supposed that the boundary of eternal snow was 10,000 feet above the surface of the sea, and this even under the tropics.

The Pamerian table-land is said to lie still higher than that of Thibet, probably 17,000 feet above the surface of the sea; it forms a desert of 460 miles in circumference, within which a large lake, called Surikool, is situated, where the Oxus and Sir, both of which fall into lake Aral, have their source. The Surikool is frozen at most seven months in the year, and consequently the above-mentioned theory of the eternal snow boundary being at 10,000 feet above the surface of the sea, is refuted.

Another singular phenomenon is, that the boundary of eternal snow on the Himalaya mountains begins several thousand feet lower sooner on the south side of the mountain than on the north, the cause of which must be the greater purity of the atmosphere in the latter.

In the administrative and judicial branches, the names of Elphinstone, Thomas Munro, Mackintosh, Mill, Grey, Fraser, and Alexander Johnston are distinguished. The present Governor-General, Lord Auckland, an estimable man in all respects (formerly member of the Grey ministry), seems also to direct his attention to the future prosperity of India, and to do his utmost to maintain and consolidate the sovereignty of England in that vast empire.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ORIGIN, CHARTERS, FORTUNES, AND PRESENT SITUATION.

To give a complete picture of the origin of the company, its fortunes, its charters so often renewed under different forms, and on different conditions, and of the fluctuation of its financial circumstances, would alone require a considerable work,* exceeding as well my knowledge of the subject, as the design of this Essay. I therefore confine myself here only to sketch the most remarkable circumstances in the early history of the company, the leading features of its present charter and form of government, with a short view of its financial circumstances.

The East India Company was founded in the year 1599 by Queen Elizabeth. The charter, however, granted by that queen, had no other result, than that a few vessels were sent to the East Indies, where the Portuguese then exercised great influence. This charter expired in 1635, but was renewed in the same year by Charles I. Cromwell dissolved the East India Company in 1653, and declared the trade free. This, however, did not last more than four years, after which he restored the privileges of the company.

* See East India Charters and Treaties, 4 vols. 4to., and East India Papers, 12 vols. folio.

Its capital then amounted to £740,000. In the year 1661 the company obtained a new charter, with greater privileges, from Charles II. The company began then the establishment of their factories on the Indian peninsula, and extended (1665) their trade even to China. In 1698 a new company arose in opposition to the old one. They injured each other much, and were therefore united in 1702 during the ministry of Lord Godolphin. The company's factories now began to increase considerably in importance, so that they even required separate courts of justice, which were established there in 1726. The company commenced its political career in India in 1756, in which year it gained its first territorial possession in Bengal. The profits of the trade with India were reckoned (by D'Avenant), even then, to amount to £2,000,000 a-year. The trading capital of the company at that time consisted of £6,000,000 in 6,000 shares, each of £1,000. Since 1760 this capital has produced an interest of from twelve to fifteen per cent., which raised its current value to £12,000,000. In consequence of this, and as the parliament foresaw the possibility of a still greater dividend, an Act was passed (1769), that the company should not hereafter be allowed to make a greater dividend in one year than ten per cent. on the capital of £6,000,000, and that the profits which might exceed that sum should be employed partly in the formation of a reserve fund, and partly in local improvements in India.

Through this Act of Parliament the company's

capital of £6,000,000 was certainly prevented from rising any more in value, but it gained steadiness for that already possessed, reckoned as equivalent to £12,000,000. Each share of £1,000 was in consequence worth £2,000, a value which they have with little variation maintained till now. It is remarkable that this comparatively small sum of £12,000,000 forms the capital of a possession, the revenues of which amount to more than £19,000,000 a-year.

In the year 1773 the parliament granted a new charter; the principal bases of which were: that the company should exercise the powers of government within its dominions on the continent of Asia, and have, besides, the monopoly of all trade as well with the East Indies as with China. It was properly from the trade with China that the company derived its profits (on an average £1,000,000 a-year), while that with India was often even attended with loss. The trade with China was principally for tea, which the company alone had a right to sell in England. Soon after 1770 the company's stock of tea had increased so considerably in Europe, that they asked permission of parliament to send part of it to North America, which was then still an English colony. The ships, loaded with this tea, arrived at Boston and Charlestown, where disturbances had before broken out on account of the Stamp Act; they were here attacked and plundered by the people, who would not pay a tax of four pence per pound while the English themselves paid a shilling a pound.

This was the beginning of that revolution which cost England the greater part of her North American possessions, contributed considerably to the breaking out of the French revolution, and finally kindled a general war throughout Europe, which cost millions of lives, and endangered the very existence of all social order—all this for stamped paper and a duty of a few pence on tea! So prosaic is the age in which we live.

In the year 1784 the parliament established a new ministerial department for East Indian affairs, under the name of the Board of Control. Its business is the superintendence and control of the resolutions made by the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

The company's charter was then still the same as in 1773, which, although several times renewed, was always founded on the same principles as at first. The trade and navigation between England and the East Indies had in the mean time considerably increased, and the gain amounted (according to a calculation made by parliament in 1814) to £185,000,000 from the year 1795 to 1812, which gives an average of about £10,000,000 a-year.

The principles of trade had in the mean time been considerably changed in Europe, and especially in England; freer ideas upon the subject prevailed; the time was now considered to have arrived when the company's monopoly of the trade, as well with India as with China, ought to be discontinued, and as their charter would expire in 1835, the parliament em-

ployed a part of the session of 1833 in determining the principles of a new one. These were as follow :—

1. The company should retain its political rights, namely, of directing the affairs of the East Indian Empire, under the superintendence of a Board of Control.

2. It should cease to be a commercial company, and in consequence thereof give up its monopoly as well of the trade with India as with China.*

3. The trade with these countries should be free for every British subject.

4. British subjects should, with certain restrictions, be allowed to settle in British India, which was before strictly forbidden.

5. The shareholders were assured of a revenue of ten and a-half per cent. on their capital of £6,000,000, that is a sum of £630,000 a-year, which should be paid out of the income arising from the trade with the East, but should be sent to England in the form of tea, indigo, sugar, &c. (Of these articles, the first mentioned is the most considerable; it is obtained from

* The company paid to the English crown a round sum of not less than £4,000,000 yearly as duty for tea, which disappeared on the discontinuance of the monopoly; but the crown is compensated by the duty on the tea imported into England by private commercial speculations. The use of this article has so increased, that the import of the last few years has amounted to 40,000,000 pounds annually, a great proof of the increasing wealth of the English people that they are able to enjoy to such an extent this article of luxury. All the tea used in France does not amount to half a million of pounds a year.

China in exchange for opium, which is one of the company's monopolies in India.)

6. A sinking fund was laid aside, by means of which the shareholders' capital (reckoned according to its value in trade of £12,000,000) will in the course of forty years be redeemed; and as the company's present charter also expires at that time, the parliament will have an opportunity of deciding whether it shall be renewed or discontinued; in the latter case, the immense possessions of the company would come directly under the government of the British crown, a state of things which has hitherto been avoided, because it would leave too much power in the hands of the government, who might possibly use it for parliamentary views, and thus endanger the freedom and the rights of the English people.

7. The company's warehoused goods (tea, indigo, sugar, &c.) amounting (1835) to the value of £21,000,000, were disposed of in the following manner:—£2,000,000 were taken for the above named sinking fund for the redeeming of the shareholders' capital; £9,000,000 were employed for the payment of the company's debts; and the remaining £10,000,000 were appointed for the effecting of improvements within the East Indian territory; an uncommon act of generosity towards a distant colony; of which, however, a still greater proof has since been given by the payment of £20,000,000 for the emancipation of the negroes in the West Indies.

These great changes from the company's former

charter to the present, which concern the right of possession of an empire as large as Europe; a commerce which embraces the whole world; a government of 100,000,000 of people; profits which are equal to the whole wealth of other kingdoms, were decided by parliament in the course of a few evenings, a circumstance which (compared with the endless forms in our Swedish diet, where the most trifling measure requires years to be settled) must convince every thinking person of the infinite advantage of the English parliamentary form in two chambers, over ours in four, a true symbol of *vis inertiæ*.

CHAPTER VIII.

FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION IN THE ANGLO-INDIAN EMPIRE.

THE government of the Anglo-Indian Empire is vested :—

1. In the parliament; by this is understood, according to the English acceptation of the word, as well the King as both Houses of Parliament, whose joint assent is required to make a law.

2. In the Court of Directors, chosen by the proprietors holding a certain amount of stock in the capital of £6,000,000 of the East India Company.

3. In the Board of Control, a ministerial authority forming part of the English government.

4. In the Governor-General in India, who resides in Calcutta, and is besides local governor of the presidency of Bengal.

5. In three other governors, one for each of the three remaining presidencies, Madras, Bombay, and Agra.*

The governors are under the Governor-General in

* The presidency of Agra is now separated from the presidency of Bengal, to which it before belonged; it consists of the northern provinces of Hindostan, viz. Delhi, Almora, Agra, Bareilly, Allahabad, &c.

common, political, and military affairs; but are independent of him in administrative and local business.

The Court of Directors consists of twenty-four members, chosen by the proprietors. In order to be eligible, they must have at least two shares (at £1,000 each), and live in London. Of these twenty-four directors six retire every year by rotation, whose places are filled by new members. The Court of Directors choose within themselves a president and vice-president. The Court of Directors decide all questions by ballot and by a majority of votes. They have the initiative in all questions respecting India, as also the right of passing resolutions on every subject. These resolutions, however, before they can be put into execution, must be submitted to the approval of the Board of Control. The Court of Directors have also the right, when a vacancy occurs in the office of Governor-General, Governor, General of the Army in India, and of Counsellor of State there, of proposing three names as candidates for the situation. This list is submitted to the Board of Control, and, if agreed to, goes to the Minister, who, in the King's (now the Queen's) name, appoints one of the three persons to fill the office. The Court of Directors themselves appoint all officers of the lower ranks for the management of the different branches of business within the East Indian Empire—as the administrative, judicial, and military; they consequently appoint all sub-lieutenants in the army, all clerks, and all inferior law officers. Advancement from these to higher de-

grees are all made, in India, by the Governor-General or the governors. These advancements are made partly according to seniority and partly according to ability, which is said to be more attended to there than in England; perhaps more than in any other country in the world.

The Court of Directors is divided into three sections, called committees; the first manages the financial department, the second the political and military, and the third the administrative and judicial department. Each committee consists of eight members. There is also a secret committee, consisting of the president, vice-president, and one other member, whose business it is to consider all the more important questions respecting the declaration of war, the conclusion of peace, and the management of other political negociations, which occur as frequently in India as in Europe. Certain general questions, especially such as regard considerable financial disbursements, must, according to an Act of Parliament, be submitted to the final decision of the proprietors. The company consisted (1835) of 3,579 proprietors, of whom about 2,000 had a right to vote. To have a right to vote, one must have at least one share of £1,000, and reside in London. The number of votes are not the same as the number of shares, but decreases in proportion as the number of shares increases, in order that too great influence may not be given to one or a few individuals. A proprietor of £1,000 has one vote, of £3,000 two

votes, of £6,000 three votes, of £10,000 and upwards four votes, and no more.

The Board of Control, which forms the second branch of the government, is constituted in the following manner.

The presidentship belongs to one of the English cabinet ministers, who therefore has the title of President of the Board of Control. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the two principal Secretaries of State are members by virtue of their offices. The Board of Control consists besides of from six to eight commissioners, who are likewise often chosen from among the members of the English government, so that the Board of Control and the English ministry consist, within two or three persons, of the same individuals, though under different degrees of responsibility. The Board of Control is divided into six departments, namely, for the accounts, revenue, judicial, military, secret and political, trade and finance.

The relation, as to official duties, between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control is as as follows: —All reports, communications, and papers of what nature soever they may be, go from India first to the Court of Directors, are reported by them to the consideration of that department to which the subject belongs; go afterwards to the directory in *plenum*, and thence to the Board of Control, accompanied by the remarks of the Court of Directors. The Board of Control has the right of making what alterations it

pleases, but must give its reasons; and must also return the papers, within a given short period, to the Court of Directors, who are obliged either to comply with the remarks made, or to let the subject drop.*

Such is briefly the course of the governmental machinery in England over India. The greatest power belongs, however, to the Governor-General, who resides in India.

This power, so long as it exists, is colossal, and cannot be compared with any other than that of the Emperor of Russia, or with that of the Roman Pro-Consuls in Asia. The Governor-General has the right of declaring war, concluding peace, and of making treaties of commerce and alliance with all the neighbouring states of Asia and Africa. He has the right of pardoning, and the chief command over the land and naval forces.† He may promote, as well as suspend, every civil officer throughout the East Indian Empire, the governors in Madras, Bombay, and Agra included. For the use of the government he may draw bills on the East India Company to any amount, which are always accepted.‡

* In order to save time the two bodies often communicate verbally with each other, especially the two presidents, by which means the affairs are settled in a much shorter time, and the resolutions are more unanimous.

† The Company possesses a tolerably powerful naval force, which is stationed at Bombay.

‡ The discounting is done in India, where there are bankers (some of them Hindoos), who might vie in credit and riches with the greater houses in Europe.

The Governor-General appoints the residents placed at the durbars of the native Indian kings and princes, as well as all diplomatic agents to the different courts of the East: Ava, Siam, Cochin-China, Tibet, Bockara, Herat, Cabul, Ethiopia, Muscat, &c.*

The Governor-General has a council of state, consisting of five members, for his assistance. They have the right to express their opinions on all subjects that occur, and when their opinion differs from that of the Governor-General, to postpone the question for forty-eight hours; should the Governor-General, after this time for consideration, continue firm in his opinion, he has the right of deciding. The counsellors record in their minutes the reasons of their dissenting from the Governor-General. All the documents relative to the difference are sent by the first opportunity to the Court of Directors in London, who decide which party is right, and, should it be found necessary, recal either the Governor-General or his advisers.

The governors in Madras, Bombay, and Agra have each of them for his assistance three counsellors of state, whose duty is the same as that of those of the Governor-General in Calcutta. In order to be a

* The budget for this diplomatic corps amounted in 1834 to 1,038,000 silver rupees. Among the residents four have a salary of 66,000 silver rupees yearly; those who have the least receive 36,000 silver rupees per annum. By the silver rupee the author means, in the course of this work, the Sicca rupee, worth about two shillings and a penny.

member of the council of state, it is necessary to have lived in India at least seven years.

Under the Governor-General, a general (always taken from the British army) has the chief command of the army in India, consisting of 200,000 men; he is besides a member of the council of state by virtue of his office.

The Governor-General's salary is £36,000 a-year; that of the Governors £12,000. The pension of the former depends on the Court of Directors, but has usually been, after seven years' service, £6,000 a-year; that of the latter, on the same principle, £2,000.

To be appointed to a civil office, with a salary of £500, it is necessary to have resided at least three years in India; to be appointed to one of £1,500, six years' residence; for £3,000, nine years' residence; and for a place with £4,000 salary, twelve years' previous residence are necessary.

The body of civil officers, according to the opinion of all persons understanding the subject, is uncommonly well composed, and has scarcely its equal in any country in Europe.

From the above brief statement, it may be concluded:—

1. That those government affairs respecting India, which are decided in England, are conducted in a collegial form by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, and that such as are decided in India are treated more in an absolute and executive form by

the Governor-General, with no other restriction than the delay of forty-eight hours, to which he is obliged by the representations of the council of state, before he can come to a final decision.

2. That the proprietors are far from possessing an exclusive power over the East India possessions, and that this company cannot now be esteemed as any thing more than a link, which is considered necessary between the British Crown and its subjects on the continent of Asia.

3. That these possessions consequently belong properly to the English Crown, and not to the East India Company.*

As the maximum of the yearly revenue which the Company, according to the Act of Parliament, can raise from its possessions in India, is fixed at $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the real value of the capital, £12,000,000, and an equally high interest can be obtained by other means, it cannot be said that the desire of gain, or wish to employ their capital to advantage, is the principal object of the proprietors. This is now rather in the patronage enjoyed by the Company, through the directors; that is to say, the right of appointing the lower officers as well in the army as

* The beautiful Island of Ceylon is entirely independent of the Company, and is directly under the English Crown and the superintendence of the Secretary of State for the Colonial Department; it has also a separate governor on the spot, who resides in Kandy, the ancient capital of the island, in the interior of the country; Ceylon has now 1,000,000 of inhabitants.

in the civil and judicial departments, which gives the directors, and other great proprietors, an opportunity of putting out their younger relations and friends; and that in a way which may give them a reasonable income, a respectable rank in society, nay, even honour and riches. For the individual who enters the Company's service, these advantages are often dearly bought: after a long course of preparatory studies, among which is the learning of three Oriental languages (the Sanscrit, Hindoostanee, and Arabic), he is obliged, while still young, to leave his native country and his relatives, not to see them again for a considerable time;* and when he does return to them, it is often with a broken constitution, worn out by the effects of the burning climate. He is obliged, if in the army, to submit to the severest discipline, and a constant residence in the camp or in the field; if in the civil department, to attain a high degree of knowledge and ability, without which no advancement can be obtained in the East India Company's service, which requires, in this respect, more than any other service in the world.

* After a residence of seven years, two years' leave of absence is given; after twenty years' residence there, a pension is granted, which is greater in proportion to the length of the time of service.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE ANGLO-INDIAN EMPIRE.

EVERY presidency has a high court of justice, and this in its proper form of court of appeal and cassation: it is the highest tribunal as well for civil as for criminal cases.*

There are besides, for civil cases, in each of the provinces of India (twenty in number), two lower courts, one of which tries those suits which have reference to greater sums than 5,000 rupees; the other, those which relate to smaller sums.

For criminal causes there is in every presidency a certain number of judges, who travel each in his district, in order to hold assizes at least twice a-year. These judges have also the direction and control over all the lower judges, magistrates, revenue officers, and those engaged in the police within their districts.

There is a lower court and police office for every

* The law followed in India for civil cases is, the Hindoo for the Hindoo population, and the Mahometan for the Mahometans. The criminal law, on the contrary, is the same for all—namely, the Mahometan; but changed so that all corporal punishments have been altered to fines, and, in case of inability to pay, to imprisonment.

Zillah, that is to say, a district with a population of 2,000,000 of people. Their members are natives, called Sudder-Aumeems and Moonsiffs.

The administration of justice costs the state large sums annually; for the salaries are and must be great, partly on account of the usual style of living in India, &c., and partly because a civil officer, who has passed a great part of his life in this country, may with reason expect to finish his days in Europe with a respectable provision, which must be collected during the time of service. The superior judges have a salary of £8,000 a-year; those of the second rank have £6,000, and so on. The last budget that I am acquainted with (for 1834) has, for the judicial administration alone, the enormous sum of 4,425,000 silver rupees.

Besides the great advantage arising from well regulated and just tribunals, which never before existed in India, or at least have not been found there in the course of the last two centuries, the Hindoo population have gained another, perhaps still greater, advantage from the British power, namely, that even the lowest subject cannot be judged otherwise than by a jury composed of his peers. The happy effects which the institution of the jury has produced in India, are testified, among other things, by the parliamentary committee, which in 1835 was appointed to inquire into the subject, and which in its report on the subject says:—

"That the lists of names of the jurymen chosen for

the year within each district, which are hung up in all temples and courts of justice, in order that the public may be enabled to judge of their merits, have been an exceedingly powerful motive to induce the people to greater morality, and to set a value on their character, consequently have in a high degree raised their moral character."*

The natives, who are called as jurymen, consider that they, like the European judges, form a part of the government of the country, and consequently feel an interest in supporting it, which they otherwise would not have.

It is taken as a general rule, as well in India as in England, that those placemen who are under government are not qualified to act as jurymen, and therefore can never be placed on any list.

To overcome the difficulty peculiar to India attending the division of castes, there are lists for each caste, which makes the institution of so much greater value to the Hindoo, whose lower castes would entertain as little confidence in the impartiality of the higher, as the latter would for that of the former. There is also a grand jury in India as in England, which first decides whether arrest can be allowed or not, consequently a Habeas Corpus Act. These rights of citizens, which the Hindoo people possess, and which the constitutional Swedish nation does not

* If a person, who is appointed as juryman, commit any fault in his conduct, he is brought before a jury, who can judge him unworthy to be a juryman.

enjoy, speak but little in favour of the progress of our social institutions not to exercise now a right for which our forefathers were qualified ages ago!!!*

The jury, however, is not only a judicial institution of the greatest importance, its political advantages are still greater, and it is especially in this point of view of great moment. Grievous, most grievous is, therefore, that prejudice which prevails in this respect among the majority of our otherwise liberal-minded lawyers, who have not yet learned that trial by jury forms the proper and the most important palladium of constitutional freedom.

According to the unanimous testimony of all parties, the administration of justice is good, mild, speedy, and

* Geijer, the celebrated Swedish historian, cites a bill of emption of the year 1541, in which the twelve men are enumerated, who at the assize, hullo pâ festan, (should find out the truth); this proves that the business of the twelve jurymen (tolfmannanämnd) was, like that of the jury in England, to give their verdict on the fact, after which the judge applied the law.

I am convinced that the general introduction of the trial by jury as well for abuses of the freedom of the press, as for criminal cases, would be the best means of developing that public spirit which alone can give life to our civil institutions, and awaken that patriotism, on which the less powerful kingdom must finally place its hope of preserving its independence against the more powerful. To obtain a correct idea of the trial by jury, of its legal and especially its political advantages, I must refer the reader to Tocqueville's excellent work on America, where this question is treated in a masterly manner, in two chapters devoted to it.

cheap in India; in consequence of this, and also of the improved state of education (of which we shall say more hereafter), crimes have considerably decreased, as well in number as nature, which is a great and honourable testimony in favour of the British government in this part of the world, and outweighs many of those defects which it still retains.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA.

An important and very remarkable part of the government of India is its ancient municipal constitution, which, under the most despotic princes, has preserved to this country, in its internal administration, almost a republican form, which none of its conquerors, neither the Affghans, the Mongols, nor the English, have ventured to touch, and, now more than ever, is supported by the English, who are so familiar with it.

The best description of this municipal administration is given us by Mark Wilks, in his Historical Work on India, published 1810.* According to this author, every township forms its own republic, and still exhibits a distinct image of the state of things when men first united in civil societies. Each township contains twelve kinds of municipal authorities, namely,—the local judge (potail), the recorder, the tax gatherer, the disposer of aqueducts, the astrologer (for the determination of fortunate or unfortunate days for sowing, &c.), the smith, the coachmaker, the potter, the barber, the goldsmith, the poet (rhapsodist), and the schoolmaster. These

* Sketches of the South of India.

twelve municipal authorities are chosen every year by all the members of the township, and are paid by them *pro rata.**

* Forbes, in his "Oriental Memoirs," vol. ii., p. 41, gives the following account of the institutions of Guzerat, and generally of Hindoostan:—"The mode of appropriating land and collecting the revenues in Guzerat is, in many respects, similar to that of the ancient Germans on their emerging from Gothic barbarism, when the property of land was invested in the tribe or nation, and a portion of corn was allotted to every individual by the magistrate, and corresponded to the number of his family, the degrees of his merit, and the importance of his services. Yet he derived no source of power or influence from a territorial property which he could not bequeath to his successor.

"Thus it is in Hindoostan: the lands appropriated to each village belong to government; the *ryots*, or peasants, who cultivate the fields under the orders and inspection of the *patell*, or superior of the village, are, in a manner attached to the spot. The cattle for the plough and other services of husbandry are sometimes the common stock of the village, oftener the property of individuals. The *patell* provides seed and implements of agriculture, takes care that such as are able cultivate the land, and at the time of settling the *jummabunda*, or harvest agreement with the collector of the revenue, allots to each family their portion of grain, or a share of the money for which it has been sold, according to the number of the family, the quantity of their cattle, and the extent of land they have cultivated. Some particular fields, called *pysita* and *vajeefa* lands, are set apart in each village for public purposes, varying, perhaps, as to the method of application in different districts; but in most the produce of these lands is appropriated to the maintenance of the Brahmins, the *cazee*, washerman, smith, barber, and the lame, the blind, and helpless; as also to the support of a few *vertunees*, or armed men, who are kept for the defence of the village, and to conduct travellers in safety from one village to another."

CHAPTER XI.

THE POPULATION.

The population of the Anglo-Indian Empire is not known with certainty in all the provinces; it is, however, in most of them, and in all the principal ones, and may be estimated very nearly in the others.

The presidency of Bengal is one of those provinces the population of which is exactly known; it amounted in 1831, the last account I have seen, to 39,957,561, which may be expressed in round numbers at 40,000,000

The older provinces of the presidency of Agra—Benares, Bareilly, and Delhi, contained, according to the report given to the Governor-General in 1826, by the Resident Ewing, a population of 32,206,806. Since the above-mentioned time, this presidency, which then contained an extent of 66,510 square miles, has been increased to 85,700 square miles, by new conquests.

The population of these new provinces is not yet known with certainty; should they be as densely peopled as the old provinces, the whole population of the

Brought forward . . .	40,000,000
presidency would probably amount to 60,000,000. This, however, is not the case, it may nevertheless be estimated with certainty at	50,000,000
The presidency of Madras has very correct returns of its population; it amounted, in 1831, to 15,090,084, which may here be stated in round numbers at	15,000,000
The presidency of Bombay also has correct accounts, according to which its population, in 1831, amounted to 6,940,277, in round numbers . . .	7,000,000
Total* . . .	112,000,000

The population of the states of the subsidiary and protectorate princes† is more difficult to reckon, and this can only be done approximatively. The best

* This number exceeds that given in the beginning of this Essay, for the population of the Anglo-Indian Empire, by not less than 12,000,000; but it depends on the manner in which certain states are reckoned, whether as being directly under the Company's dominion or indirectly; in the latter case the number of the subjects of the subsidiary and protectorate princes is increased by the same amount as the number of direct subjects has been diminished.

† As a separate part of this work is devoted to the description of what is meant by subsidiary and protectorate princes, we pass over this account for the present.

authorities for this information are the Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1830. The population in the states in question was estimated as follows for the year 1828:—

	Subjects.
The Nizam of Hydrabad has	10,000,000
The King of Oude	6,000,000
The Rajah of Nagpoor	3,000,000
The Sultan of Mysore	3,500,000
The Rajah of Sattara	1,500,000
The Guicowar in Baroda	2,000,000
The independent Seiks on the left bank of the Sutledge, under the protectorate of the Company	3,000,000
Travancore and Cochin	1,000,000
The numerous princes of the Raypoots, together	16,000,000
The Jagardars in Bundelcund . . .	1,500,000
Scindia	4,000,000
Total . .	51,500,000

The population of the states still independent, within the Indian peninsula, is reckoned by Montgomery Martin (see p. 169 of his work, published 1835) at 51,500,000. This appears to me, however, rather too high, and should, according to my calculation, founded on other sources, not be reckoned at more than 30,000,000.

According to these separate calculations, of which the greater number, and the most important, are founded on official and perfectly authentic statistical accounts, the population of India may be stated in round numbers at 200,000,000; from 100,000,000 to 112,000,000 of these are the Company's direct subjects; from 50,000,000 to 60,000,000 those of subsidiary or protectorate princes; and from 30,000,000 to 40,000,000 under the independent princes of India.* In such an immense population, a few millions more or less are of little consequence, for millions in India answer to no more than thousands in Europe. As an instance of the discrepancies in estimating the relative number of the direct and the indirect subjects of the Company, we find some authors ranking the King of Oude, with his 6,000,000 of subjects, as belonging to the former class, while others place him in the latter. These differences arise consequently rather from incorrect classification than from a false statement.

* If the greater amount be taken in the one case, the less must be taken in the other.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE TAXATION, REVENUE, AND EXPENDITURE OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN EMPIRE.

THAT the welfare of a people depends in a great measure on the greater or less amount of the taxes, and the system upon which they are levied, is a truth too generally known to require repetition here: should this amount exceed that which the people can bear without sacrificing the comforts of life, or if, though not too great in the aggregate, it is nevertheless raised in an oppressive form, as, for instance, by a direct and unequally divided taxation of the land itself, this people would feel dissatisfied and uneasy at their condition—in the former case on account of the actual weight of the taxation, in the latter of the oppressiveness of the form in which it is imposed.

The inhabitants of the Anglo-Indian Empire are happy enough not to feel either the former or the latter of these hardships. They pay less now than when they were under their own princes, and as to the form of the tax, it is even more just than that which is followed by other nations nearer to us, who, although they consider themselves much more civilized than India, are in this respect less so, and really still suffer under the rude ignorance of the middle ages.*

Notwithstanding these advantages of moderate

* This alludes to the system of taxation in Sweden.—*Note* of Translator.

taxation and of equal division enjoyed by the subjects of the East India Company, there are, nevertheless, great defects still attached to the system of taxation prevailing there, which, however, being inherent in the general form of administration in Asia, have not yet been corrected by the British government in India. These defects lie in the monopolies which the Company has, of three leading articles of consumption, namely, salt, tobacco, and opium. These articles may not be sold to any one but the government commissioner, and then at a price determined for the year; it is also reserved for the government alone to sell them again to the consumer. The prices fixed by the government, both for the purchase and sale, are, however, so reasonable, that they encourage the cultivation of these articles and promote the sale.

According to official statements laid before parliament, and examined by it, the gross revenue of the four presidencies in India, together with what are called the subordinate settlements (that is, the sums paid by the tributary states), during the fifteen years, ending 1828, 1829, was £311,083,400, making on an average £20,738,893 annually, of which the clear revenue (after deductions for costs of collection, &c.), amounted to about £19,000,000 annually.*

* In 1828 the gross revenue was as follows:—

The presidencies of Bengal and Agra together, as they were not then divided, gave . . .	£14,695,468
Madras	5,488,208
Bombay	2,680,632
	£22,864,308

In the latest year (1831-1832), of which there are specific accounts, they give the clear revenue as follows, namely :—

	£.
The land-tax	10,750,218
Customs	1,380,099
The sale of salt	2,314,982
The sale of opium	1,442,570
The stamp-duty	328,300
Post-office	103,501
The mints	60,508
Pilot-dues	45,974
Sale of tobacco	63,048
House-tax	58,631
Excise	70,469
Law fines	96,242
Akbare (answering to the poll-tax)	764,759
Sundries	179,967
Moturpha (*i. e.*, a tax which all mechanics pay, a kind of guild-tax)	116,830

Tributes.

From the Mahrattas	239,347
,, Birmese	87,266
,, Rajah of Nagpoor .. .	77,743
,, Raypoots	78,938
,, Bhurtpoor	24,881
Carried forward . .	£ 18,284,275

	£.
Brought forward . .	18,284,275
By Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin	342,776
,, Cutsch	13,332
,, Penang	37,561
	£ 18,677,944*

For the years 1833, 1834, and 1835, the clear revenue amounted on an average to £19,276,000 a-year. From what has been stated, it follows that the revenue may be reckoned at a medium of £20,000,000 sterling, which is two-fifths more than that of the whole Russian empire.

The charges for the same year, 1831-1832, were the following :—

	£.
The collection of the land-tax . .	1,544,154
Ditto customs . .	180,794
Management of the sale of tobacco	23,093
Ditto salt	562,879
Ditto opium	281,655
Ditto stamps	71,012
Direction of the post-office . . .	117,724
Ditto mint	52,645
The marine	302,404
Carried forward . .	£ 3,136,360

* See the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords for 1830.

Brought forward . . .	£3,136,360
The army	7,302,266
The fortresses	114,135
The civil administration . . .	1,395,761
The judicial	1,316,545
The police	267,504
The roads	149,075
Sundries	222,454
Pensions and travelling expenses from and to India	1,671,406
Interest and sinking fund for the debt of the East India Company	2,007,614
	£17,583,120

Revenue, as above	18,677,942
Charges, ditto	17,583,120
Surplus	£1,094,822

With this balance, £1,094,822, many of the expenses in England itself are paid, of which more in the sequel.

During the ten years between 1819 and 1829 the Company had suffered loss by their trade with Europe (England included), and this loss had risen to £200,000 a-year; by their trade with China, on the contrary, they had gained nearly £1,000,000 a-year; whence it follows that the clear gain of the Com-

pany, in trade, can be reckoned at £800,000 a-year, which should be added to the above stated surplus of £1,094,822.*

These sums united were quite sufficient to pay all the Company's expenses in England.

* See the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 16th August, 1830.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN ARMY.

This army is as great a phenomenon in the annals of war as the Anglo-Indian empire in those of the world.

Who could have believed the possibility of forming an *army* in all respects *excellent*, where the soldier belongs to a religion different to that of his officers; where the soldier is the superstitious child of one hemisphere, the officer the enlightened native of another; where the soldier speaks one language, the officer another; where the soldier belongs to *castes*, that consider themselves contaminated by the slightest contact with other people, and rather die of hunger than eat anything in common with them, and yet blindly obey these officers!!! Who could believe that such an army could withstand the temptations of the spirit of revolt, the influence of national hate, the blind zeal of religious fanaticism? And yet this has happened in British India, which has an army composed of more than 200,000 men, whose unshaken fidelity, amazing bravery, and great military proficiency, are proved by fifty campaigns, and by the experience of nearly a century.

The soldiers of the Anglo-Indian army (called Sepoys, *i. e.*, esquires) are all natives of the country,

belonging to different tribes, different castes, and different creeds; the infantry consists principally of men professing the Brahminical creed, the cavalry of Mohametans. The army is divided into three corps, namely, one for each presidency, after which they take their names. The soldiers of the army of Bengal* are mostly men of high caste; the Brahmin caste reckons more than 20,000 of its followers in its ranks. The soldiers of the Madras army are principally Raypoots; they are considered to be the most persevering, hardy warriors, but observe their religious customs so strictly, that the least deviation from them might have a dangerous effect on their discipline. The soldiers of the Bombay army belong more generally to the lower castes, are the most easily kept under discipline, but, perhaps, less brave than the others. No forced levy or conscription is to be found in India, any more than in England itself; all military service is voluntary (which is a great security for the preservation of subordination), and meets with so little difficulty, that each regiment possesses a number of supernumerary soldiers, who offer themselves as successors to such as may leave. The soldier is well paid, well clothed, well treated; not the slightest corporal punishment is allowed (which is the more astonishing, as the corporal punishments in the native English army, serving often together with the Hindoos, are very severe); blows inflicted on a Hindoo

* The new Presidency of Agra has not yet a separate army, but its troops are considered to belong to the Bengal army.

soldier, especially one of high caste, would as certainly cause a mutiny in a Hindoo regiment as in a French one. The laws of discipline are therefore nearly the same in the Anglo-Indian as in the French army—imprisonment; in the former army, however, there is a powerful hold which does not exist in the latter, that of dismissing the soldier who has committed a fault, which in India is a severe punishment, while in Europe it would often be a reward. As one, among thousands of examples of the bravery which distinguishes the soldier in the Anglo-Hindoo army, we may cite the following:—

In the year 1804, General Lake besieged the fortress of Bhurtpoor, situated in the central part of India, which was considered impregnable. Holkar, after having lost two battles against General Lake, had thrown himself, with the remains of his Mahratta army, into the above-named fortress, and determined to defend it to the last extremity. Four attempts to carry it by storm had been repulsed, the two last executed by the 75th regiment of the English line, which had (like Ney) the surname of *Le brave des braves*; a fifth attack was to be attempted, the European troops recoiled, when the 12th regiment of Sepoys offered to undertake it, and planted their victorious colours on the high walls of Bhurtpoor.

The Hindoo soldier resembles the French also in his placing an infinite value on marks of honour; a medal for bravery does wonders in India. Never has an English officer been deserted in the fire by his

soldiers; where he leads they follow. Each company has an English captain, lieutenant, and ensign, and also a Hindoo captain, lieutenant, and ensign. The latter three are, however, under the command of the British officers, so that, with the title and uniform of officers, they are, properly speaking, only subalterns, or non-commissioned officers. These are well paid, well used, and form an excellent link between the British officer and the Hindoo soldier. That which alone has rendered it possible, with such heterogeneous materials, to bring the Anglo-Indian army to that degree of perfection it now possesses,* is, that it is constantly (the whole year through) in camp, when not in the field. The camps (which consist of a kind of huts, called Bungalos), are like those of the Romans, often surrounded with ramparts and ditches, and consist generally of a number of troops, of from 3,000 to 15,000 men. The selection of these camps depends partly on military, partly on political grounds. They are either in some good military position, some central situation, or are chosen according to the more or less friendly political sentiments of the neighbouring states. Although, for instance, the government at Calcutta has not the least reason to doubt the friendly political sentiments of the King of Lahore, Runjeet Sing, there are, nevertheless, generally in the neighbourhood of

* The Duke of Wellington, himself field-marshal in seven European armies, and who has had an opportunity of judging of them, as well during war as peace, often says that the Anglo-Indian army is one of the best in the world.

his states some camps, containing together a force of 20,000 or 30,000 men, which would be more than sufficient to oppose any attempt he might possibly make to disturb the peaceful state of things. The camps consist properly of infantry and artillery; the cavalry is in cantonments. In order to obtain the rank of an officer in the Company's service, the candidate must submit, not only to an examination in subjects of general and military knowledge, but also to one in three oriental languages: he must understand Sanscrit, write Persian,* and speak either Hindoostanee, the Bengal, or the Tamul languages, according to the army in which he wishes to be engaged.†

To the east of the Cape of Good Hope, the Anglo-Indian officer takes his turn and seniority like the European-British; but not to the west of the above-named place. It is said that there is no body of officers better composed than the Anglo-Indian; nor any that has more professional knowledge, military education, nor more noble conduct. This army has been invincible on the continent of Asia, always victorious wherever it has shown itself. It gives the greatest proof of that magic power which the iron

* A change is said to have lately taken place in this respect, according to which, the writing Persian, which was before always official, is now laid aside, and official reports, &c. are to be written in Hindoostanee, Bengalee, or Tamul.

† They are generally educated as cadets; those destined for the infantry and cavalry at Haileybury College, and those for the artillery and engineers, at Addiscombe College, near London.

sceptre of discipline can exert, if wielded with moderation and judgment.

The strength of the Anglo-Indian army is considerably less now than it was some years since, partly in consequence of the system of retrenchment so generally prevailing in England, and partly in consequence of the decreased need of soldiers, as peace has not been interrupted in India since the Birmese war (which ended 1827). The army consisted, in 1826, of 274,000 men, and amounted, in 1827, to 291,000, but, in 1837, did not exceed 190,000 men (exclusive, however, of contingent or subsidiary troops, more of which hereafter).

In the last mentioned year, this force was divided in the following manner :—

Royal British troops, commanded from Europe, to do service in India,—

	Men.
Staff	205
Horse Artillery	1,927
Foot ditto	4,354
Engineers	77
Cavalry	2,585
Infantry	13,879
Officers	755
	23,782
European troops in the direct service of the Company	2,800
Total of European troops	26,582

These troops are all in the Company's pay from the day they embark from England for India,* to the day they return and disembark in England; the expenses for these troops amount to something more than a million sterling annually.

The native army consisted in 1837 of the following officers and soldiers:—

Staff (British)	312
Company's Officers of British birth .	3,416
Officers of Hindoo birth	3,416
Engineer corps	3,498
Horse Artillery	1,022
Foot ditto	5,892
Artillery train	1,392
Cavalry	14,529
Infantry	124,281
	157,758
European troops	26,582
	184,340 †

* In order gradually to accustom the troops going to India to the climate, they are first sent to Gibraltar, Malta, or Corfu, then to St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, or Mauritius, and thence to India; the return home is conducted in the same careful and prudent manner.

† The difference between the above-stated 190,000 men and the 184,340 here given, is occasioned by the Medical staff, which amounts to more than 500 persons, by the corps of sappers and miners, and by some invalid corps that do duty in the fortresses, but are not reckoned among the active force.

The number of the contingent troops furnished by protected princes cannot be stated exactly, because, by several treaties, it depends on the pleasure of the Governor-General to decide according to circumstances; the probable amount is as follows:—

Scindia's army consists of 10,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry; his contingent is	15,000
The King of Oude's, at least	10,000
The Nizam (a title answering to King or Sultan) of Hydrabad, 10,000 cavalry and 12,000 infantry	22,000
The Gaicowar of Baroda, 3,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry (Sepoys); these are equally well organized with the Company's own troops	7,000
Nagpoor, no fixed number, at least	1,000
Holkar, not fixed, at least	5,000
Travancore, 3 battalions of infantry	3,000
Cochin, 1 ditto	1,000
Mysore, not fixed, at least	4,000
Cutsch, not fixed, can furnish	5,000
Joudpoor	1,500
The Raypoot princes, together, 7,500 cavalry and 27,000 infantry	34,500
Sattara	5,000
	114,000

The contingent or subsidiary troops amount, therefore, to 114,000 men, which, added to the 185,000 partly European, partly native troops, in the *direct* pay of the Company, comprise a force at the disposal of the Governor-General of no less than 300,000 men.

The expense of the Anglo-Indian army, according to the accounts laid before Parliament in 1830, was as follows:—

	£.
The Engineer Corps	83,874
The Artillery	606,463
The Cavalry	1,070,834
The Infantry	4,124,079
Staffs *	488,490
The Medical Staff	132,490
Pioneers	74,511
The Commissariat	614,327
Sundries	2,178,887
	£ 9,373,955

The cavalry is excellently mounted, the greater part on horses bred in the studs of the Company, of Arabian and Turkoman blood.† The Company has

* All officers above the rank of captain are reckoned in the staffs.

† "The horse attains a noble perfection in Toorkistan and the countries north of Hindoo Koosh. The climate is favourable to its constitution, and the inhabitants exhibit the most patient solicitude in its breeding and food; so that its best qualities are

also similar establishments for elephants and for camels. The number of these is not less than 3,000 of the former, and 40,000 of the latter.

fully developed. The Toorkmun horse is a large and bony animal, more remarkable for strength and bottom than symmetry and beauty. Its crest is nobly erect, but the length of body detracts from its appearance in the eye of an European; nor is its head so small or its coat so sleek as the brood of Arabia. This want of ornament is amply compensated by its more substantial virtues, and its utility is its beauty. We are informed by the historians of Alexander, that the countries on the Oxus were celebrated for their horses; and their subsequent and close connection with Arabia suggests to us the extreme probability of an intermixture with the blood of that country. Tradition confirms the belief. At Shibbergaum, near Balkh, the people will yet tell you that their horses are descended from the famous Ruksh of Roostum, the steed of the Persian Hercules; from which we readily gather that they are of Persian descent. Timourlane introduced, from his conquests in China and India, Persia and Turkey, the finest horses of those distant countries to his capital of Samarcand and his native and adjacent city of Shuhr Subz. In this very neighbourhood, we now find, in the hands of the Uzbek tribe of Karabeer, the most matchless horses of the East. The great Nadir appears to have imitated Timour; and from India to the confines of Persia the introduction of many celebrated breeds of horses are referred to that conqueror. The most famous of these is found in Merve, though the animal be small. Another on the Oxus, known by the name of Aghubolak, is invariably marked by a dimple on some part of the body.

"The peculiar manner in which a Toorkmun rears his horse arrests attention, and will, perhaps, account for its stamina and superiority; since education, whether of the beast or the man, leaves the most permanent impression. The diet is of the simplest kind, and entirely free from the spices and sugars, the thirty-two

A very remarkable circumstance in the Anglo-Indian army is, that though it has a well-organised

and forty-two "*mussalas*" (condiments) of the Indians. Grass is given at stated periods in the forenoon, evening, and midnight; and, after feeding on it for an hour, the horse is reined up, and never permitted to nibble and eat, as in Europe. Dry food is preferred at all times; and if green barley and juwaree (*holcus sorghum*) are given in its stead, the animal then receives no grain. At other times, a horse has from eight to nine pounds of barley once a day. Clover and artificial grasses are cultivated in Bokhara and on the banks of the Oxus, and, when procurable, always used in a dry state. The stalk of the juwaree, which is as thick as a walking-stick, and contains much saccharine juice, is a more favourite food. The long interval between the times of baiting inures these horses to great privation; the supply of water allowed to them is also most scanty. Before a Toorkmun undertakes a foray, or chupao, he trains, or, to use his own expression, "cools his horse" with as much patience and care as the most experienced jockey of the turf, and the animal is sweated down with a nicety which is perhaps unknown to these characters. After long abstinence from food, the horse is smartly exercised, and then led to water. If he drinks freely, it is taken as a sign that his fat has not been sufficiently brought down, and he is starved and galloped about till he gives this required and indispensable proof. A Toorkmun waters his horse when heated, and then scampers about with speed, to mix the water and raise it to the temperature of the animal's body! Under this treatment, the flesh of their horses becomes firm, and their bottom is incredible: I have had authentic accounts of their performing a journey of six hundred miles in seven, and even six days. Speed is at all times looked on as an inferior quality to bottom. At the marriage festivals, where horse-races form a part of the amusement, the Toorkmuns decide their matches, which are generally a few sheep, on a course of twenty or twenty-five

commissariat since the enlightened government of the Marquis of Hastings, the great spirit of speculation

miles. Youths of eight and ten years of age ride the horses; and the spirit with which these sports are carried on by the Toorkmuns is not surpassed in any country. The favourite horse afterwards moves throughout the neighbourhood as if the owner had the encouragement of a farming association in the deserts of Toorkmania.

"I have pointed out the seat of the most celebrated horses of Toorkistan; but the animals which are sometimes sent to India under the name of Toorkmun horses are reared about Balkh, and the eastern parts of Toorkmania, in the districts of Andkho and Maimuna, as also on the banks of the Oxus: they are considered inferior to the horses of Bokhara, Merve, and Shurukhs. The price, too, is the best proof of this assertion; since the eastern horses seldom bring a higher sum than 100 tillas (650 rupees), and more frequently average less than half. Among the western Toorkmuns, a horse often sells for 200 tillas, and there are some in the stables of the King of Bokhara for which 300 tillas have been paid. These horses differ much from the animals that are sent into India from Candahar and Cabool, which are of an inferior and distinct breed. They too, are reared in Toorkiston, but only used as baggage horses or hacks. Very few of the genuine Toorkmun horses are ever sent across Hindoo Koosh, since there are no purchasers but the Afghan chiefs and the court of Runjeet Sing; and the best description of horse will only yield a profit to the importer. They cannot be brought to the territories of British India for less than 1,000 or 1,200 rupees; and few of the European gentlemen will give such a price in addition to the small profit asked by the dealer. Such, at least, is the language of the horse merchants themselves; and it carries some force along with it, since the points of a Toorkmun horse have not much recommendation in the eyes of an European, whose taste would appear to be better suited by imports from the

among the Hindoos, which induces them to accompany a British army, on its taking the field, and to

Persian Gulf. In speaking of the horses imported from Toorkistan, Mr. Elphinstone observed, in the year 1809, that if the studs in India should succeed, the trade would be annihilated—a prediction which has been fulfilled; as I learn that the whole remount of the Bengal cavalry is now furnished from the government stud, with some few exceptions for the horse artillery. The undersized horses which are bred there are also bought up by officers and natives; and there are now no princes of sufficient consequence to induce horse merchants to speculate longer in a losing and foreign trade. The annual tax of fifty or sixty horses, which the ruler of Lahore imposes on the chief of Peshawur, is furnished from Toorkmun horses, since Runjeet Sing is fastidious in his choice. That the value of the Toorkmun horse has not been over-rated is most certain, since some of them which were entered into the lists of the cavalry twenty years ago, are yet good and serviceable animals, and highly appreciated by cavalry officers. Were it ever contemplated to seek a further supply of these horses, they could be procured with every facility at Meshid in Persia, from Shurukhs and Merve, or by means of an agent in Cabool. Afghans sent from that city could also purchase them.

"The breed of the Toorkmun horse is of the purest kind. When the animal is over-heated, or has performed any great work, nature bursts a vein for it in the neck,—which I did not at first credit till I had become an eye-witness of the fact. The Toorkmuns cut their horses; as it is a popular belief among them that they are then more on the alert, and undergo greater fatigue, than stallions. The Toorkmuns believe their horses to be exceedingly nice in hearing; and will often trust to their steeds for the alarm of an approaching enemy. I was particularly struck with the fine crests of the Toorkmun horses; and I heard, though I could not authenticate its truth by observation, that they are often confined in a stable with no other aperture

supply it not only with necessaries, but with luxuries, could possibly make this army independent of the supplies procured by its commissariat. A quarter of an hour after the army has halted, there is behind it a whole fair of eating-houses, taverns, merchants, &c., where, for ready money, both the officers and soldiers can be supplied with all that they want. This spirit of speculation goes so far, that the English officers have often an opportunity to purchase of these suttlers, in the midst of the sandy deserts of India, everything that can be obtained in the shops of London or Paris. The baggage arising from this is certainly considerable, and the more so, as the Hindoo merchants take their families with them: it causes, however, less embarrassment in the movements of the army than might be imagined; as it is principally conveyed by oxen and camels, and is under the command of an officer who, riding on an elephant supplied with a flag, directs the

than a window in the roof, which teaches the animal to look up, and improves his carriage. The contrivance seems fitted for such an end. The finer horses of the Toorkmuns are seldom sold, for their owners may be truly said to have as much regard for them as their children. It must not, however, be imagined, that all the horses of Toorkistan are equally renowned; for as almost every person beyond the Oxus has a mount of some kind, a great portion of them are very inferior animals. In Bokhara there are many Kuzzak horses, a sturdy and little animal, with a shaggy coat and very long mane and tail, much and deservedly admired. They are brought from the deserts between Bokhara and Russia."—Burnes' "Travels into Bokhara," 2nd Edition, vol. iii. pp. 229—234.

march, in such a manner that it does not hinder the movements of the army. This officer also gives the signals for breaking-up or halting, and appoints the place where the booths shall be put up.

In order to give an idea of the state of the commanding officers and generals in India, I will here quote an account of it, written by Bishop Heber:—

"Sir David Ochterlony (says the Bishop, vol. ii. p. 362), the Government's agent to the petty princes in Western Central-India, and arbitrator between them, holds a royal state. His income amounts to 15,000 silver rupees a month, and is entirely expended. The number of his British and Hindoo adjutants, secretaries, and servants; the multitude of elephants, camels, and horses, following him on his journeys, the strength of his guard of honour, the number and magnificence of those tents which form his camp—among which, those inhabited by himself and his daughter are surrounded by a court, lined with scarlet cloth—all this surpasses every idea a European can form of it, and reminds one of the former grandeur and riches of the Indian courts."

Jacquemont relates that Governor-General Lord William Bentinck, who, nevertheless, is a man without pretension, had a suite of 4,000 persons, mounted on 30 elephants, 700 camels, and more than 1,000 horses, on his journey in the northern provinces of Hindoostan, in the year 1831.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE SUBSIDIARY PRINCES IN INDIA, AND OTHER PRINCES UNDER THE BRITISH PROTECTORATE.

THE princes of India are divided into three categories:—

1st. Subsidised princes;
2nd. Protected princes;
3rd. More or less independent princes.

The following are subsidy princes:—

	Square Miles.
The King of Oude, whose kingdom has an extent of	25,000
The Rajah of Nagpoor	64,000
The Nizam of Hydrabad	109,000
Holkar in Indur	17,000
The Sultan of Mysore	29,000
The Guicowar of Baroda	30,000
The Rajah of Travancore	6,000
Ditto Cochin	2,000
Ditto Cutsch	6,000
	288,000

By subsidiary princes is understood such, as either freely, or from having been subdued by the English

arms, have entered into subsidy treaties with the British government. The general contents of these treaties are the following:—

The British government undertakes the whole of the military defence of the subsidiary country against foreign powers (as well Indian as others); and therefore, has alone the right, or duty, whichsoever one pleases to call it, of keeping an armed force in the country; they consequently garrison the fortresses, and form with their troops even the body-guard, or the guard of honour of the prince. All the Anglo-Indian troops lying in the country are under the command of a British resident, who is the same as the Roman proconsuls placed about the persons of the princes and kings of that time in Asia. The British government guarantees, besides, the security of the subsidiary prince against all attempts of his own subjects; and promises to quell all seditions and revolutions arising against him, which were before so common in India. The subsidized prince renounces all political connexion with other states, whether in or out of India; and promises not to enter into any treaty, otherwise than by the intervention of the British government. The subsidized prince engages also to refer all disputes with other states to the decision of the British government; and in all more important questions, even for the home government, to obtain the advice of the British resident, or Governor-General in Calcutta, which advice is very nearly equivalent to a command. The

subsidized prince gives to the British government a part of the revenue of the state, equal to the cost of those troops of the Company which are stationed within his dominions.

On the other hand, the subsidized prince retains the exercise of his princely authority, in all administrative and judicial cases, as also in the appointing of his ministers, civil officers, courtiers, &c.

The subsidy system certainly possesses some advantages, among which especially that of preserving order and tranquillity in the country, and of leaving to the Indian people their own princes, for whom they sometimes entertain a personal or hereditary affection; but this system is also subject to such great inconveniences, that they by far exceed the above mentioned advantages. These inconveniences have been so well displayed by Mr. Mill, a member of Parliament, in his evidence given in the lower House, the 16th February, 1832, that I think I cannot better illustrate the subject, than by giving an abridgment of it.

"The despotic governments of Asia," says Mill, "know of only one counterpoise to those tyrannical excesses in which they so willingly indulge, and this counterpoise is—unfortunately, no other than—*revolution.* The despotic prince knows well that the extreme of violence or of passion causes rebellion among the people, and that rebellion, if successful, costs the prince his crown and his life. These means, although violent, form, however, the only check on the ex-

cesses of tyranny in Asia, as also in the neighbouring states. But this check is destroyed by the subsidy system, as the people well know that the British power is too superior to give the least chance of success to a rebellion in any single part of India; and they know that India is too much divided to allow any hope of union between its dismembered parts. This very circumstance gives the princes of India courage to oppress their subjects; for they fear nothing from their powerless revenge. In consequence of this they wrest from them all that can possibly be obtained, and that without the least regard to the people's comfort or means of living. Even the administration of justice is in the highest degree wretched, in these subsidy countries; for the prince cannot hope for any reward in the love of the people, for the good measures he takes, nor has he anything to fear for the faults he may commit. Nor can the subsidized prince entertain any desire to strengthen himself against the hostilities of foreign powers, or to gain the affection of his subjects, as the Company's troops defend him as well against the one as the other. Consequently, all common interest between the prince and the people vanishes, and, as he no longer needs their respect nor their support, he uses them almost as enemies, and demands from them all that his rapacity can wish."

Such is the state of things in the British subsidiary states, which also excites in their subjects a general wish to come under the direct dominion of the Com-

pany, which is, in all respects, milder, and more just than that of the subsidiary princes.

The rise of the subsidy system in India was caused by the following very strange circumstance. The Parliament, always much opposed to new conquests in India, passed an Act, during the administration of Pitt, according to which the East India Company was strictly forbidden to make any new conquests. The Company, themselves, have always been disinclined to such, and it is indeed *la force des choses*, which has very often obliged the Governor-General to make war on princes, who, being hostilely disposed towards the Company, flew like moths about the light, and burnt their wings. To restore the conquered provinces, after their defeat, would not do, for it would have been considered in India as weakness and incapacity in the Anglo-Indian government. What then remained but to retain them? But here occurred another difficulty, that of acting directly contrary to an Act of Parliament, which would have aroused, if nothing else, a parliamentary storm against the Company, which might possibly have occasioned consequences dangerous to its own existence. The subsidy system was then invented as a middle course, the country was not conquered, for the prince continued to reign; nor was the country restored, for the Company retained the highest power there.

The unhappy effects of the subsidy system on the welfare of the Hindoos, on whose contentedness the stability of the British power in India must, at all

events, finally depend, begin now, however, to be more and more sensibly felt, wherefore the present subsidiary countries will, probably, on the death of their princes, be incorporated with the Company's dominions, and that to the infinite advantage of the people in India, who themselves most cordially desire it.

Protected princes are such as have not subsidy treaties with the Company, but, nevertheless, belong to its feudal system. The difference between these and the former lies properly in the protected princes having the right to keep troops of their own, of which they are, however, bound, at the request of the Governor-General, to furnish a contingent to the British government. The amount of this contingent is fixed for certain princes; but for others, it is left to the Governor-General to determine, as the occasion requires.

The following princes are under the British protection, namely,—

The Rajah of Bhopal.
The Rajah of Siccim.
Those Seiks on the left bank of the river Sutledge who are independent of Runjeet Sing.
The Boondelah States.
The Gujerat ditto.
The Malwa ditto.
The feudal Nobles of Raypootana, and
The Princes on the Birmese frontier.

The following are more or less independent of the British power :—

Runjeet Sing,* Maha Raya (that is to say, Lord or King) of Lahore.

* As we have several times mentioned Runjeet Sing, we will here only give an extract from a description of his meeting with the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, in 1831, which gives a good idea of the Indian princes' magnificence and manner of living.

"The Governor-General started under a royal salute, accompanied by his staff; met Runjeet Sing a mile from the camp, where he left his elephant, and continued the journey in the same houda as the Maharaja. The sight which now presented itself was indeed grand. The Maharaja's troops were stationed at some distance from the road; and it would be impossible to describe the magnificence which prevailed in the Seik's camp. A lofty triumphal arch, covered with red cloth and gilt ornaments, and another, still more splendid, were raised. The Governor-General and his staff took a raised position, whence there was a view of the Sutledge; the troops formed a complete wall of soldiers; a silence prevailed among this mass of the people, which made the scene highly solemn. On alighting from the elephants, Runjeet conducted the Governor-General to a pavilion, where the court was stationed, and placed his Lordship between himself and his son. The whole court was shaded by a triumphal arch of yellow silk; on the ground the richest mats and shawls of Cashmere were spread, and, behind Maharaja, there was a large tent, shining with all kinds of ornaments; it was composed partly of carmine velvet, yellow French satin, and Cashmere shawls. It showed, in reality, all that one could imagine of Eastern magnificence. But Maharaja himself was a greater object of admiration than all this pomp; he was clothed in green satin, on his right arm he wore the renowned diamond 'Koh-i-norr,' his wrist and neck were surrounded by pearls.

The Ameers in Sind, united in a confederation; a conquering tribe from Beloochistan, of the Mohamedan faith. Their present chief is Mir Murad Ali. His capital, Hydrabad, a strongly fortified place, where great treasures are said to be kept, which will probably fall into the hands either of Runjeet Sing or of the British East India Company.

Scindia, the Mahratta prince, formerly very powerful, who still enjoys a certain independence, and has a considerable army, of which, however, he is bound to furnish a contingent on the request of the Governor-General.

The Anglo-Indian government has treaties of alliance with the Kings of Siam and Cochin China; the Affghan princes in Cabul, Ghiznee, Kandahar, and Herat;* the Imaun† of Muscat, &c.

"The appearance of the Seiks is very warlike; and I doubt whether there ever existed a court with nobler manners. When the leaders had retired, Maharaja made a sign, on which a detachment of his Amazonian regiment approached, about seventy in number, richly clad in yellow silk; they were arranged opposite the Governor-General, under the command of a beautiful woman, who led them."

* The late successful expedition of the British army, to restore the rightful sovereign to the throne of Cabul, and the flight of the usurper Dost Mohammed, has made a considerable change in the political state of affairs in those countries. The death of Runjeet Sing will probably lead to other changes.—*Note* of Translator.

† This prince is a descendant of Mahomet, and considers himself as Caliph.

CHAPTER XV.

WHAT ADVANTAGE DOES ENGLAND DERIVE FROM ITS DOMINION OVER INDIA?

THREE most important questions now naturally present themselves, namely :—

I. What advantage does England derive from its dominion over India?
II. What effect has this dominion upon India?
III. What prospect of stability has this dominion?

The examination of these questions is so much the more important, as it forms the really practical result which is here to be sought. We shall therefore consider each of them separately.

I. What advantage does England derive from its dominion over India?

The policy of the English parliament in the government of its extensive colonies has long been, and still is, not to draw from them any direct revenue, either in the form of a tax or otherwise; but to seek its advantage only in the profits of trade, in the fortunes acquired by individuals and other indirect revenues. It is especially to this enlightened and wise policy, that England is indebted for the gigantic increase and flourishing state of most of her colonies, a policy

built on the soundest principles of political economy, namely, those which teach us that the people's gain is that of the crown; that riches do not consist in gold and silver alone (which Spain sought in America, but did not find, even in the mines of Peru), that riches are rather produced by exchange and commerce; that the profits thence arising are reciprocal, enriching both the countries that participate in it, and not the one at the expense of the other. These principles are not new in England; they were already employed at the time when the now United States of North America formed a British colony. These states had never paid a single shilling towards the support of the government of the mother country, and the only advantage the latter derived from them was the indirect gain arising from trade, the sale of British manufactures, and the successful enterprises of private speculations. England, on the other hand, had given to North America all those political institutions which have laid the foundation of its present strength and freedom; had given it the advantages of a representative constitution; of a municipal government, trial by jury, the freedom of the press, religious freedom, and personal liberty (the Habeas Corpus, &c.). These advantages could not, however, in the opinion of the Americans, overbalance the tax of a few pence imposed, as they considered unjustly, on tea and paper; a circumstance which would bear the appearance of ingratitude, if a people, when arrived at that point in their social education which is necessary for

independence, did not do the same as the son who has attained the age of manhood; they emancipate themselves, and leave their quiet home for the storms of the world. Such is human nature, so also will the Hindoo act, when he has attained that degree of enlightenment which proves the maturity of civil society.

But I hasten to return to the principle of England's colonial government.

If England will not levy any revenue on its immense colonies—if it takes nothing to lighten the heavy burden of taxation under which the English nation itself is oppressed, in what, then, it may be reasonably asked, consists the advantage that the mother country derives from these colonies?

With regard to India it consists in the following sources of revenue, for which the means are derived from the East Indies; these are,—

1st. Interest (at $10\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.) on the proprietors' original capital of £6,000,000	£615,000
2nd. Disbursements of the East India Company in England:—	
Travelling expenses from and to India* (on an average) . . .	68,000
Freights for English shipowners .	134,000
Carried forward	£817,000

* For the military and civil officers.

Brought forward	£817,000
The pay of officers during their furloughs in England	120,000
Compensation to the English war department for the clothing, equipment and arming with articles of English manufacture, of the royal troops serving in India	220,000
Pensions of military officers now living in England, but formerly in the Company's service in India . . .	60,000
Ditto of civil officers	30,000
Salaries of the East India Company's servants in England, and the maintenance of its buildings, &c. . .	100,000
Salaries of the Board of Control, &c.	30,000
Cadet schools in England	22,000
Bounty-money in England	44,000
Purchase of materials in England for the clothing, arming, and equipment of the Native East Indian army	500,000
Sundries	57,000
Total	£2,000,000

3rd. In those fortunes made by the English, living in the East Indies, either carrying on trade, or employed in the public service, which are

Carried forward	£2,000,000

Brought forward	£2,000,000
considered to amount yearly, on an average, to	1,500,000
4th. In the profits in trade which private individuals make in the East Indies (especially by the sale there of English manufactures) which is reckoned to amount yearly to . .	3,000,000
Total gain	£6,500,000

Hence we find that England's gains from its East India possessions amount to no less than 6,500,000 pounds sterling a-year—a sum which would in the end completely ruin this colony (or more properly speaking drain it of its bullion) if it were remitted in that form, but such is not the case; it comes to England in the following manner:—East India opium is sent to China, and is there exchanged for tea, this is taken to England, and covers all the bills of exchange.

Such are the phenomena of trade, what the one country gains is not lost by the other; they both gain.

There is, however, a higher point of view than the preceding, in which the colonies of England ought to be considered.

On what does Britain found her political power, if not on her colonies? which include a greater portion of the globe than Russia itself,* and especially a more

* The English colonies take up a sixth part of the land on our globe, Russia a seventh part.

populous, better cultivated, and richer territory than that empire.

On what does Britain found her naval power, if not on her colonies? the trade and intercourse with which employ hundreds of thousands of her seamen.*

On what did Britain, in her strife for life and death against the power of Napoleon, found her prospect of leaving the field with the palm of victory, if not on her colonies? which, after all the harbours in Europe were closed against her flag, offered in theirs, a market, an exchange, a trade which supported her decaying strength, and alone made victory possible!

Of these colonies India is, without doubt, the chief, not only in a political and commercial point of view, but also considered philanthropically, for England distributes there the benefits of civilization to more than a hundred millions of our fellow-creatures, and will probably, at some future period, succeed in supporting it, on the purest of all foundations—the mild and exalted doctrines of revealed religion.

* England has, according to the latest statistical accounts, the surprising number of 200,000 registered seamen in active service (of course principally in the mercantile navy), and, altogether, of 700,000 men living on the sea, including fishermen.

CHAPTER XVI.

II. WHAT EFFECT HAS THE POWER OF ENGLAND ON INDIA?

HAVING in the former chapter examined the advantages which England enjoys from her dominion in India, we must now turn our attention to the effect this dominion has on India itself.

It will be necessary, for this purpose, to go back to the state of that country before its conquest by the English, by which means alone the question can be decided, as to its relative condition *now*, compared with what it was *formerly*; its positive condition shall be examined afterwards.

In order to proceed as impartially as possible in the first of these inquiries, I will refer to the description, given by a Mahometan writer, of the state into which India was sunk before the English conquest, under the sceptre of the Mahometan Mongols. This author, the most faithful of all the modern historians of India, is Golaun Hossein Khan. He thus describes the state of India at the beginning of the eighteenth century:—

"At this time," he says (in his history of Hindoostan), "all prisoners of war were murdered—all suspected persons were put to the torture; the punishments were empaling, scourging, &c. The people in

certain provinces were hunted with dogs, like wild beasts, and shot for sport. The property of such as possessed any thing was confiscated, and themselves strangled; no one was allowed to invite another to his house without a written permission from the Vizir or Rajah of the place where he lived, and the people were constantly exposed to the most dreadful plunderings and outrages." Such was the situation of Hindoostan during the latter part of the dominion of the Great Moguls; it became still worse when Nadir Shah, like a torrent of fire, overwhelmed the country; and was, perhaps, most unhappy when, after the departure of Nadir, India was left in the power of the Mahrattas, whose only object was plunder and devastation. Hindoostan then presented a picture of such unheard-of oppression that one shudders at the description. Thousands of examples may be found in the history of these times, of the whole population of conquered towns being massacred by the conquerors. Delhi, which then had more than a million of inhabitants, became quite desolate after Nadir Shah's massacre, which continued seven days without intermission. Shah Abdala, Nadir's successor on the Persian throne, also left it to the pillage of his outrageous soldiery (1761), and it fell a third time a sacrifice (1767) to the power of the Mahrattas, who massacred all that could not save themselves by flight.

India had been ruined, however, not only by foreign conquerors, but also by the tyranny of its own princes,

who, assisted by the anarchical state of the country, no longer knew any bounds to their cruelty. It would be both too tedious and too disgusting to give instances of this, for the excesses of despotism are every where the same, though they assume a still more dreadful form in those countries where the perpendicular rays of the sun cause the blood to flow more rapidly—where a continued tyranny has created a slavish submission—and where the surest means of reconciling the despot with his bleeding victim, the mild religion of Christ, does not exist. This state of misery and devastation, of anarchy and civil war, of foreign and domestic oppression, which had spread its dark veil over the land of India, just at the time when England appeared on its political theatre, doubtless greatly contributed to the unexampled success of the British, who presented themselves to the Hindoo people in the character of their friends and their protectors; not in the form of new oppressors, such as Tamerlane, Nadir Shah, or Scindia. Its army did not, like those of the Moguls, Persians, and Mahrattas, press forward plundering and laying waste whereever it appeared; no, it united European civilization with European discipline, was orderly and humane in its conduct, paid for all that it took, protected the humble and saved the conquered from the revenge of the conqueror. It is thus, especially, that the gigantic strides made by the British arms in Asia may be accounted for.

Having given, from a Mahometan author, whose

authority is unquestionable, a picture of the state of India under the Musselman power, we must now take one, representing its condition under the British government; and for this purpose we shall give, in the first place, some extracts from the excellent Bishop Heber,* whose letters deserve so much the more to be depended on, as they were not intended for publication, but were written under the seal of confidence to some friends in England.

"There are," says Bishop Heber, in a letter dated 16th December, 1823, "now in Calcutta, and the surrounding villages, twenty † boys' schools, containing from sixty to one hundred and twenty each; and twenty-three girls', each of twenty-five or thirty." The children learn, it seems, to read and write both the Bengal and English languages, the morals of the Christian religion, arithmetic, geography, and history. This is the more astonishing with regard to the girls, as no female in Bengal§ was ever before allowed to learn either to read or write.

* Protestant Bishop of Calcutta, from 1823 to 1826, when he fell a victim to the fatigues of the immense journey he had undertaken in his diocese—*the whole of India.*

† Since 1823, when this was written, the number of schools has more than doubled.

§ The Bayaderes are an exception; they receive, in this respect, a much better education in the temple than the rest of their sex, which contributes, in a considerable degree, to increase the great influence which they enjoy in India.

In another letter to Sir Wilmot Horton, Bishop Heber writes:—

"Some of the best-informed of their nation (Hindoo) with whom I have conversed, assure me, that half their most remarkable customs of civil and domestic life are borrowed from their Mohammedan conquerors; and at present there is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in every thing. The wealthy natives now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars, and filled with English furniture. They drive the best horses, and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta. Many of them speak English fluently, and are tolerably read in English literature. In the Bengalee newspapers,* of which there are two or three, politics are canvassed with a bias, as I am told, inclining to whiggism. Among the lower orders the same feeling shows itself beneficially, in a growing neglect of caste—in not merely a willingness, but an anxiety, to send their children to our schools, and a desire to learn and speak English, which, if properly encouraged, might, I verily believe, in fifty years' time, make our language what the Oordoo, or court and camp language of the country (the Hindoostanee) is at present. And, though instances of actual conversion to Christianity are, as yet, very uncommon, yet the number of children, both male and female, who are now receiving a sort of Christian education, reading the New Testa-

* There are now fourteen newspapers in Calcutta, which also proves the increasing inclination for European learning.

ment, repeating the Lord's Prayer and the Commandments, and all with the consent, or at least without the censure, of their parents or spiritual guides, have increased, during the last two years, to an amount which astonishes the old European residents, who were used to tremble at the name of a missionary, and shrink from the common duties of Christianity, lest they should give offence to their heathen neighbours. So far from that being a consequence of the zeal which has been lately shown, many of the Brahmins themselves express admiration of the morality of the Gospel, and profess to entertain a better opinion of the English since they have found that they too have a religion and a Shaster. All that seems necessary for the best effects to follow is, to let things take their course, to make the missionaries discreet, to keep the government as it now is, strictly neutral, and to place our confidence in a general diffusion of knowledge, and in making ourselves really useful to the temporal as well as spiritual interests of the people among whom we live."

In a letter dated January 24th, 1824, Bishop Heber says, "Their crops are magnificent, and the soil, though much of it has been in constant cultivation beyond the reach of history, continues of matchless fertility. No where, perhaps, in the world, is food obtained in so much abundance, and with, apparently, so little labour. Few peasants work more than five or six hours in the day, and half their days are Hindoo festivals, when they will not work at all."

"The female dress consists only of a piece of cotton, wound about the waist, as among the ancient Greeks; but even the lowest classes use, both in the country and in towns, ornaments of gold and silver on their arms, ankles, and fingers, and in their ears, which are of greater value than the smartest dress of any servant girl in England."

Bishop Heber gives the following character of the Hindoos (see his letter of the 7th June, 1825):—

"The different nations which I have seen in India have, of course, in a greater or less degree, the vices which must be expected to attend an arbitrary government, a demoralising and absurd religion, and (in all the independent states, and in some of the districts which are partially subject to the British,) a laxity of law, and an almost universal prevalence of intestine feuds and habits of plunder. Their general character, however, has much which is extremely pleasing to me; they are brave, courteous, intelligent, and most eager after knowledge and improvement, with a remarkable talent for the sciences of geometry, astronomy, &c., as well as for the arts of painting and sculpture."

Montgomery Martin's work on India gives a more general view of the progress of education in India than can be obtained from Bishop Heber's letters. It contains (page 404) a table which states the number of schools, in Madras alone, at 12,498, with nearly 200,000 children, from six to fifteen years of age.

Although there are no special reports on the number of schools in the other presidencies in India, the best informed men (among them Montgomery Martin) say that education has made as great advance there as in the presidency of Madras. This has led to the remarkable result, that the proportion of the persons that can read and write to those that cannot is greater in India than in any country in Europe. According to Montgomery Martin (*see* page 412) this is the proportion:—

In India	1 in 5
Prussia	1 " 7
the Netherlands	1 " 9
the United States of America	1 " 11
England	1 " 15
Austria	1 " 15
France	1 " 17

This surprising result has been produced in India within the course of twenty years, and shows what a government can do, if it has power, ability, and energy in its actions.

Colleges are now established in all the larger towns of British India; the age of the students is from 15 to 25 years. At these establishments the Hindoo youths are instructed partly in their own literature, and partly in that of Europe, especially in the English. Shakspeare is a favourite author there, as in England, and his plays are performed with much spirit by the Hindoo youth.

The British government has taken great pains to render the relation between the lower and higher castes easier for the former. They are now perfectly equal in the eye of the law; the only equality that can reasonably be expected in any country.

The British government has abolished human sacrifices, which still existed on their first arrival on the continent of India; it has put an end to the custom, then prevalent in certain provinces (especially Raypootana), of killing those female children that exceeded the number of two or three in a family; and, during the time that Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General, most strictly prohibited the barbarous custom of burning the widows (Suttee);* it has destroyed that powerful tribe of banditti, the Pindarees, and extirpated the horrible sect of the Thugs.†

The British government has done away, in a great measure, with the enormities practised in the idolatrous worship of Jagernaut, and the number of those who cast themselves under the wheels of the car of the idol, to be crushed to death, is now small; but more remains to be done in this respect; especially to enforce the prohibition to send out preachers, who encourage the people to undertake pilgrimages; the unparalleled hardships and privations of which annually cost the lives of many thousand persons.

* This is still sometimes practised in secret; but, if discovered, all who were present are punished.

† They strangled travellers and other persons.

Besides these great advantages, the British government has bestowed upon its subjects in India those most important rights of constitutional society—the Liberty of the Press;* that of being tried only by

* The introduction of the freedom of the Press in a distant colony, among an Asiatic people, who knew only the iron sceptre of despotism, who were divided intoc astes, and professed a religion different from that of their rulers, was a dangerous attempt, the consequences of which it was not easy to foresee; in fact, it has unquestionably led to several unpleasant results. We must consider, however, that it is with the liberty of the Press, as with many other things—in order to form a right judgment of its effects, we must keep an account current, setting the advantages against the disadvantages; so that we may discover on which side the balance lies. In striking the balance of the freedom of the Press, we in general take too little account of the negative advantages, which often are greater than the positive. We do not sufficiently consider the evil that it prevents, but only the little good which (in the opinion of some persons) it is capable of effecting. It is precisely in this oversight that the error of the adversaries of the freedom of the Press consists.

When the freedom of the Press ceases, or is too much restricted, the government and the people fall into the same uneasy state of mind as an army and its generals, when there are no outposts—they are under constant apprehension of being surprised, fear every shadow, and weary themselves out, by remaining constantly under arms, often where there is no enemy. When the right of freely expressing the thoughts (which lightens the heart of the oppressed, or of the injured, or of him who believes himself injured) is wanting, what is worse namely, secret plots and conspiracies begin. When the Journal ceases to be free, the lampoon passes from hand to hand, and obtains by the veil of mystery an importance which the Journal does not acquire, and has therefore

their peers, in a jury, and religious freedom. If to all these blessings, we add the regular and just course of the administration of the law, the peace which now generally prevails over this extensive territory, instead of anarchy and civil war, and, what is most important, personal freedom and the sacred right of property, it must be allowed that these immense benefits form, not only relatively to the state of India before the arrival of the British (of which

a more dangerous influence. The negative advantages of the freedom of the Press are therefore incontestible, even though the positive advantages should be liable to dispute. The true counterpoise to abuses of the freedom of the Press are facts; when these are favourable, the most ably-conducted Press is not capable, in the long run, of prevailing against them. The abuses of the Press itself are likewise a powerful antidote to them; it loses through them its power and its influence. The cry of the people of antiquity was "Bread and Games" (*Panis et Circenses*); the cry of the present day is "Bread and Newspapers." This is the spirit of the age, which can no more be altered than a river can be forced to flow back to its source. In the theatres of the ancients, the people expressed their approbation or disapprobation towards patricians, consuls, prætors, ediles, &c. who appeared in them, or whose characters were painted in the comedies represented there (thus Socrates himself was represented by Aristophanes in a ridiculous light, on the Athenian stage, which, however, has not caused him to be less honoured by posterity). The greatest men of Greece and Rome, the imperatores and triumphatores, submitted to these expressions of public opinion; how can the statesmen of our times, in constitutional countries, hope to escape them?

Golaun Hussein Khan gives so striking a description), but even positively a very pleasing picture. The Christian and the philanthropist can, therefore, only praise divine Providence, for having spread these blessings among the millions of India, and honour the nation, which, by the wisdom of its government, and its heroic efforts, has been the noble instrument of effecting so vast an improvement.

CHAPTER XVII.

III. WHAT PROSPECT OF STABILITY HAS THE BRITISH POWER IN INDIA?

THIS extensive question must be considered in two points of view; that of the *internal* state of British India, and that of its political relations *with respect to foreign powers.* With regard to the former, the state of peace which this empire now enjoys, the mildness of its government, and the order generally prevailing there, ought certainly to ensure the stability of the British dominion over India. But he must be ignorant of the human heart, who should believe that these advantages, how great soever they may be, could suffice to compensate a nation for the loss of its independence, and reconcile it with the thought of having been conquered, and that too by a nation coming from another part of the globe, belonging to quite another race, and professing so different a religion; a nation even considered to be unclean, and avoided by the Hindoo as bringing with it moral contamination. Besides this general cause, there are several others, which more or less contribute to the undermining of the British power in India. Among these we will mention only the number of deposed kings and princes, governors, rajahs, nabobs, and zemindars, who, however well they are used by the

British government, cannot forget the loss of their *musnuds* (thrones) and of their power; they and their followers are therefore always ready to take the first opportunity of regaining their regretted influence. India is also full of discharged soldiers, from the times of the Mahrattas and Pindarees, who, as belonging to a warlike race, and accustomed to a lawless and wandering way of life, now seek active employment, and revenge against those who caused their ruin. Neither is the Mussulman population attached to the British government: having been themselves formerly rulers, they now see with regret how this power has fallen into the hands of others, and wish nothing more earnestly than to re-establish the throne of Timur in Delhi, or that of Aureng Zebe in Agra.

Besides the circumstances above stated, there are others which have indisposed the Indian people towards their British masters. Formerly the natives saw their sovereigns reside among them, and spend their incomes in the country; they might themselves attain the highest dignities in the state—nay, many a one might hope, through one of those revolutions in which the history of Hindoostan abounds, to ascend (like Hyder Ali) one of its numerous thrones. Now the road to all the higher posts, as well in the civil administration as in the army, is closed against them—nay, their supreme government in Europe is itself an enigma to them.

Several other causes, founded on motives of interest, contribute to render the situation of India less

favourable than might be wished. These are especially the following.

Next to agriculture, the most important occupation of the Hindoos was the manufacture of cotton goods, which were their chief staple for the trade with Europe. Before 1814 its value amounted to two millions sterling: now the value of English cotton manufactures and twist imported into India has almost reached that sum; while the exportation of Indian muslins has nearly ceased, and the manufacture of the finest, the much-admired, muslins of Dacca, is a lost art. While the Indian cotton manufactures are subject in England to the highest duty, those of England are imported into India nearly exempt from all duties. Notwithstanding the low rate of wages in India, its manufactures could not maintain the competition with those of the mother country, produced by the aid of steam. By this triumph of European skill, millions of workmen in the other hemisphere have lost their means of subsistence, and are reduced to beggary.

But this is not the only importation which has proved injurious to the manufacturing industry of India: we must add English woollens, and a number of European articles of luxury, a taste for which, to the astonishment of everybody, has spread even into the heart of India. Hence the nature of the commerce between the two countries has, in the last ten or twenty years, been greatly changed: whereas the English merchants did not know formerly how to find European goods suited to the Indian market, so that it was necessary

to make up the difference by a large amount in silver, the difficulty is now how to find goods in India which may be disposed of in Europe.

But, it may be asked, has India—formerly known as the richest and the most favoured country on the surface of the globe—ceased to bear harvests? or has Europe lost its taste for those magnificent natural treasures? No. But when England had no possessions in India, it transplanted the most valuable productions—the cotton and coffee-plant, the sugar-cane, &c.—to the West Indies. Thus the importation of those articles from India could be dispensed with. But since the English have obtained possession of the largest and fairest portion of India, what have they done to encourage these natural productions, and the trade in them? Little, very little. For the advantage of their 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 of subjects in Tropical America, they have taken measures which have impoverished their 100,000,000 of subjects in the tropical regions of Asia; measures, too, which are detrimental to the mother country itself. Thus the import duty on coffee from India is ninepence per pound, on that from America only sixpence; the duty on a cwt. of sugar is thirty-two shillings (making, together with the freight, 200 per cent. on the cost price), from America only twenty-four shillings; on a gallon of arrack from India (where the cost price is only three shillings), a duty of fifteen shillings is paid, but on that from America only nine shillings. In former times, pepper was one of the chief articles of export

from India to Europe: the whole importation of this spice into England now amounts to from 3,000,000 to 6,000,000 of pounds (in value from £50,000 to £100,000); and, besides this, the cultivation of it has ceased to be profitable, the purchase price having fallen, since 1814, from a shilling to threepence per pound. England takes the immense quantity of cotton which it requires, rather from strangers than from its own subjects: while 300,000,000 pounds are annually imported from the United States of North America, India cotton does not supply one twentieth part of the consumption of Great Britain. In like manner, the duty on East India tobacco is higher than on West India. Hence, the trade with India has not reached the amount of one-tenth of what it naturally might be, and in the last ten or twenty years it has considerably declined,* and the general wealth of India has decreased in proportion.†

* Between the years 1814 and 1818 the value of the articles imported from all places to the East of the Cape of Good Hope amounted to between 8,000,000*l.* and 9,000,000*l.* sterling; but since 1822 it has fallen to between 5,000,000*l.* and 6,000,000*l.*, that is, 33½ per cent. On the other hand, the value of the exports has increased from 2,000,000*l.* to 3,500,000*l.* The trade with the United States amounts to between 8,000,000*l.* and 9,000,000*l.* for the imports, and to between 9,000,000*l.* and 12,000,000*l.* for the exports.

† In the year 1831 to 1833 bankruptcies occurred in India, amounting, together, to the enormous sum of 15,000,000*l.* sterling. M'Culloch says that there are now very few native houses in Calcutta—the centre of the trade of the East—that possess

Only two staple productions of India have met with protection in England, because they have had no rivals in the British West Indies: one is raw silk, the other indigo. But, with respect to the latter, it is not the natives that have derived the greatest advantage from it, but the English themselves, who possess the largest indigo plantations, the only branch of agriculture which, till late years, they were allowed to follow in this country. But the eagerness with which the cultivation of indigo has been extended has depreciated the price in the European market.

Strictly speaking, the whole trade with India rests at present on a highly immoral basis, on 15,000 or 20,000 chests of opium, of the value of £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 sterling, with which the Chinese are every year poisoned. Thus a country which had, for thousands of years, accumulated the gold of the world, which is destined by nature to bear the finest fruits and the dearest spices which contribute to the enjoyment and the refreshment of man, has been compelled, in our days, to bear a noxious drug, which spreads physical and moral debility among the millions of inhabitants of the "celestial empire." The juice of the poppy is now, in fact, the staple of India, which,

above 200,000*l.*, and that the native as well as the Armenian merchants have greatly decreased both in numbers and wealth; whereas the Parsees have prospered. In general, since the trade of India has been free, a greater number of merchants of the second rank has arisen, but the colossal wealth of a few houses has ceased.

together with silk and indigo, alone enables that country to purchase the conveniences and luxuries of Europe.

These are the reproaches which are made to the system of government, or rather to the system of trade adopted by the English in India. On the other hand, it is answered :—

The decline of certain branches of manufacture for which India was celebrated, and which furnished articles of exportation to Europe, is a fact. There is now no demand for the piece goods of India; the looms of Lancashire have taken the place of those of the Deccan. Their products command not only the home trade, not only the trade of Europe, not only the trade of the whole world except India, but even that of India itself. The cotton goods of England can be exported to India, and there sold at a lower price than that for which they can be manufactured in India itself. This has necessarily injured the principal manufactures of India. But whose fault is it? What could the British government do to prevent it? Was it to limit the inventions of Arkwright and Watt? Was it to prohibit the importation of British manufactures into India? Without inquiring into the right of a prohibition contrary to the acknowledged principles of trade, it is sufficient to say that it could not be carried into effect.

It is much to be lamented that the manufactures of India have fallen into decay, because it must have produced a great mass of individual suffering; but

this decay was inevitable. Foreign countries will not purchase the dear goods of India instead of the cheaper productions of England; and even if India were not subject to the sceptre of Great Britain, it would be impossible to prevent English manufactures from finding their way into India itself. The Hindoo people must turn their attention to the improvement of the raw material, that it may be manufactured elsewhere. This is an important object which the government is very desirous to promote, and when some farther progress has been made the commercial prosperity of India will revive. Let India have but time and internal peace, and it will establish a commerce exceeding in extent and importance all that it has ever yet had.

We often hear people in Europe speak of distress and dearth in India, and it certainly has been visited with periods of scarcity; and in a country where the productiveness of the soil depends so much on the seasons, we can scarcely hope that a time will come when fluctuations in the quantity and price of provisions will entirely cease. Even in countries which are much more favoured as well by natural as moral circumstances, great fluctuations occur. But India is advancing. Security for life and property are already found there, thanks to the British government. Capital will follow, and the time is, perhaps, not distant when the horrors of an extensive famine will be as rare in India as in Europe.

We often forget in Europe when we hear of

distress in India, that India is as large as Europe. When the Brahmin in Benares, the landowner in Raypootana, or the merchant in Poonah or Lucknow, hears of the dreadful scenes in Spain, of the distress of Ireland, and the miserable state of Poland, he believes, in like manner, that Europe is ruined.

These answers to the reproaches which have been made to the British system of government and commerce in India, however plausible they may be, cannot wholy remove the grievances and the causes of fermentation in India, and therefore the British power in that country cannot be considered as properly consolidated; the Hindoo race, which forms the great mass, may, however, be considered as rather attached than disinclined to it, especially the lower castes, whose protector the English government has always been; the fidelity of the army, too, is certain.* The greatest security for the continuance of the British power in India lies, however, without doubt, in the exceedingly mild and submissive character of the Hindoos (especially the inhabitants of Bengal, the very heart of the British power); in their division into castes, and in their belief in the transmigration of souls.

* In the presidency of Bombay, the English officers, dissatisfied on account of some retrenchment that was made, had openly revolted (1790) and refused to march on an expedition against a Dutch colony. The Hindoo soldiers would not join in the revolt of their officers, and maintained the strictest fidelity towards the government. Such examples of faithfulness are uncommon in every army.

The patient character of the Hindoos induces them to believe, on the experience of a thousand years, that they are born to suffer; a natural misfortune, which it would be in vain to lament, and against which it would be foolish to contend; the division into castes checks the desire of the lower classes to aim at a higher rank in society (a common cause of fermentation in Europe), and the belief in the transmigration of souls causes life to be considered as so insignificant a part of their eternal being, that it is not worth while to trouble themselves much about it; they are consequently inspired with a stoical and slavish indifference, which promotes obedience, and prevents the breaking out of insurrections against the existing power.

The question now is, whether the elements of *stability* overbalance the *materials for fermentation existing in India.* We consider the former to be the case, provided the British government continues to treat India in the same just, wise, and mild manner as of late, and by degrees prepare the way for the natives to obtain, through ability and merit, a greater share in the government of their country than they now enjoy, which extends only to the lowest places in the civil and law departments, and in the army.

It is often said, and I believe with truth, that the power of England over India, is a power depending on opinion. Should the Hindoo cease to entertain the conviction of the intellectual and moral superiority of the British, it would be impossible for the trifling

number of the latter, amounting in all to 100,000 (members of the government, officers of the army, soldiers, tradesmen, planters, &c. &c., included), to retain the government over 100,000,000 of natives, more than half of whom belong to warlike nations. It is therefore particularly necessary to endeavour to keep up this power of opinion, which can be done only by means of just government and the moral conduct of individuals. The time must, however, come at last, when a separation will take place, to which the increasing prosperity and enlightenment of the Hindoo race will most powerfully contribute; for when a nation has arrived at maturity, independence forms the principal object of its wishes. It is at such a future period, that India, as America did formerly, will deliver itself from the colonial leading-strings of the mother-country. That such will be the case must be seen by every thinking Briton, and seen, too, without regret, for England can be great and powerful, and happy, without India, as it has been so without America; Britain has been called by Providence to spread the blessings of civilisation throughout the surface of the earth: she has planted the tender flower on the northern continent of America; has afterwards taken it to Asia, its ancient abode; and is now preparing its advancement on the extensive coasts of Australia. To determine the period when the separation of India from England will take place is beyond the limits of man's short-sighted glance into futurity; it may be

delayed for centuries, and it may possibly occur within some decennia; fate alone can determine this; but the probability is, that the time *is distant.* The Roman empire subsisted for four centuries after the extension of its distant conquests,* and yet the defects in its power were numerous, and the nucleus of its population never exceeded three millions.† The nucleus of the British Empire, on the contrary, is a population of twenty-five millions, and this population in possession of a degree of civilization far greater, compared with the conquered nations, than the degree of superiority of the Romans to their distant subjects. Why, then, should not the British Empire in Asia subsist for as long a period? As the separation of India from the British Empire might still be accelerated by some external circumstance, such as A GREAT MILITARY ENTERPRISE AGAINST INDIA, which, besides

* From the beginning of the Imperial power till the division of the Empire.

† At the time of Julius Cæsar Rome had no more than 450,000 citizens, from the age of seventeen to that of sixty, and of these 320,000 were poor persons, who received support.—(*See* Schlosser.) According to these data the whole population of Rome at that time (inclusive of the slaves) cannot be estimated at more than 2,000,000, which were the nucleus of the great Empire. Subsequently, it is true, the number of Roman citizens was increased, especially by the Emperors' giving foreign nations the freedom of the city, (Caracalla, for instance, granted it to all the inhabitants of the Empire in three quarters of the globe,) by which it not only ceased to be of any value, but even led directly to the downfall of that powerful Empire.

its direct influence, might possibly have an indirect—that of putting in motion the materials for fermentation existing in India, and of misleading the dissatisfied there to raise the banner of revolt; such an occurrence touches too nearly the subject now under consideration—"What prospect of stability has the British power in India?"—to be passed over in silence. As, however, the object of this work is rather of a scientific than of a political nature, and as we, for other considerations, also wish to avoid the latter, we shall, in considering the question, confine ourselves to the *military*, (viz., strategetical, topographical, and statistical) parts of the question,* leaving the *political* as much as possible untouched.

A glance at the map of India will show that the boundaries of that country form a kind of irregular quadrangle, the south-east and south-west sides of which are bounded by the Indian ocean; the north-east protected by the Himalaya and the Aracanian chain of mountains, and the north-west by the river Indus. The two first sides are perfectly free from the possibility

* The sources which have been used in the execution of this part of the present Essay, consist principally of manuscripts; their authors are:—Generals Sir John Malcolm and Sir John M'Donald (who have both been British ministers at the Persian court, and have a perfect knowledge as well of that country as of the rest of Central Asia); Staff and Engineer Officers; Bonamy, Pottinger, Christie, Hanky, Smith, Crows, Ellis, Settons, Williams, Macartney, Hamilton, and Mansfield; besides Alexander Burnes' separate Memoirs on Sind, Marwar, Cutsch, the Indus, and the central countries of Asia.

of attack so long as England retains the commánd or superiority at sea; the third side is equally secure from attack, partly from the insurmountable chain of mountains forming its boundary, and partly from the weakness of the neighbouring countries, Tibet and Ava.* There remains therefore, only the fourth or north-western side, where an attack possibly may be made. It is therefore this side alone which we are called to examine.

Although the Indus forms the north-west boundary of Hindoostan, it is not that of the British possessions, which do not extend so far, but end partly behind the Sutledge (with the kingdom of Lahore between them and the river Indus), and partly on the borders of Sind, leaving this country between them and the last mentioned river.†

In case any threatening clouds should collect in the north-west against the British possessions in India, which, on account of the immense preparations necessary for such an expedition, cannot take place otherwise than slowly, the Anglo-Indian government would have plenty of time to take the necessary precautions against it, which should, especially, consist in

* The East India Company's war, in 1824, against the King of Ava, certainly cost much money, because all the necessaries of life were sent from Calcutta and Madras to Rangoon; but no real danger was caused by it to the British power in India.

† Rajpootana lies likewise between the Indus and the direct territories of the British Company: but as this country forms a part of the *British confederation*, it is mentioned here, as lying within its own boundaries.

securing, either by amicable arrangement or by an armed force, the attachment or the submission of those countries which separate the British possessions from the Indus, a river which constitutes *the natural boundary* of British India, and to which the Anglo-Indian army must advance, if military and political reasons have any influence in the council at Calcutta.*

The Indus being now proved to be navigable for more than nine hundred miles (*see* Burnes' description), not only makes it a boundary to be easily defended, but, what is still more important, renders this river the medium on which the army collected on its banks can be easily supplied with ammunition, artillery, and all other kinds of necessaries.

The Anglo-Indian army consists now, as we have seen above, of 180,800 men (besides the contingent troops), and may easily be raised to its former strength of 240,000. A third part of this army, united with the troops of Runjeet Sing and those of the Ameers in Sind, makes up a force of above 100,000 men, which, on the river Indus, and supplied with all its necessaries, would form an almost invincible barrier for India.†

* This was done in India about the same time when the author wrote these lines.—*Translator*.

† According to what is said, Lord Moira's army against the Pindarees, in 1817, consisted of not less than 81,000 infantry, 33,000 cavalry, and 300 field-pieces; how much easier must it not be, and also, how much more important, in case of a great military enterprise against the Indus, to collect a similar force there now.

The second third part of the army (from 70,000 to 80,000 men), might in such a case form the reserve behind the Sutledge and the Loony, within the Company's own territory : and the last third part, remain in the interior of the country, to preserve order and tranquillity. In this position the Anglo-Indian army might be ready to meet any attempt to invade India, and for the sake of still greater security, extend, if possible, its outposts to Peshawar, Cabul, and the Soliman chain of mountains.* As the British commander may easily judge, from the direction of the hostile preparations, on which part of the Indus (the upper, middle, or lower) the attack is intended, he will be able so to distribute his own forces as to meet the enemy at the proper point.

Having thus shown the strategical movements of the Anglo-Indian army, we must now examine what power could undertake a war against India, and in what manner this power must proceed in order, with any chance of success, to venture on such an undertaking.

In the course of the last twelve or fifteen years, the central countries of Asia have undergone such great changes, that the statements made before that time, though by men, perfectly well acquainted with the subject, are no longer, in any way, applicable.

The countries of Central Asia belonging to the subject treated here, are Persia, with Khorassan and

* This plan of the author has been meantime realised through the war in Afghanistan.—*Translator.*

P

Kirman, which are partially subject to it; Afghanistan, Beloochistan, Koondoos, Khiva, Bokhara, and the nomade tribes of Toorkmania. All that lies to the west of these countries belongs to Turkey, and has less to do with India, while all on the east of them belongs to China,* and forms a political world of itself.

Of these countries, Persia holds, without doubt, the first place; but what a change has this power undergone within a few years! During the latter part of the reign of its last aged monarch (Feth Ali Shah), Abba Mirza, his successor, exercised great influence in the Persian councils; hostile to Russia, and friendly towards England. It was he who in 1826 begun the war against Russia, which ended so unhappily for Persia; when (by the peace of Turkomanchai, in 1828), he was obliged to cede the fertile provinces of Erivan and Nahshivan, by which the Russian boundary was advanced as far as the river Arras (the Araxes of the ancients), in the neighbourhood of Tabriz, and not far from Teheran, the two principal cities of Persia. Abba Mirza died

* Yarkund, the nearest country east of Koondoos, was, not more than twelve years since, conquered by China, whence an army was sent of 80,000 men, most of the soldiers of which were armed with muskets of such a large calibre that it required two men to carry them. Yarkund is Mahometan, as is also Khokan, situated to the north of Yarkund. This latter is governed by Usbeck Tartars, and has for some years paid tribute to China, as well as Khokan does now.

in 1833, and his young son Mohammed became his grandfather's successor at his death, in 1834.

Mohammed ascended the Persian throne, protected both by Russia and England, which endeavoured in common to defeat the claims of his numerous competitors. Sir Henry Bethune, a distinguished English officer, in the service of the Shah, contributed, however, the most to this happy result.

It could not then with certainty be known what political system the young Shah would follow, and each party flattered itself with enjoying his confidence and favour; which of them, however, was mistaken, was soon shewn, when the Shah, contrary to the English ambassador's serious remonstrances, began his campaign against Herat, the strongest fortress on the great route to India.

A change almost equally prejudicial to the interest of England as the above-mentioned, has taken place in another neighbouring state, Afghanistan. Not more than twenty years ago, this country formed a powerful monarchy, by the name of the kingdom of Cabul, the rulers of which had formerly been on good terms with the British government in India; but through civil wars, the history of which it would be too tedious to relate here, this kingdom has been divided into several principalities independent of each other. Cabul, in 1826, came into the possession of Dost Mahommed Khan, a son of the vizir who dethroned the former king of Cabul. Peshawar has its own governor (Sirdar), who pays tribute to Runjeet Sing, king of

Lahore. Kandahar is under the government of Ata Mohamed Khan, a brother of Dost Mahommed in Cabul, Herat alone has remained under the sovereignty of the old dynasty, and is now governed, though with inferior power, by Kamran, a son of the last king of Cabul. Ghuznee has obtained its independence; as have also the Ameers in Sinde, who were before tributary to the powerful kingdom of Cabul. This division of the Cabul monarchy, whose former head, Sudsch-ul-Mulk, still lives in British India, has deprived India of the bulwark which it possessed in a friendly power—a power too, which, though invincible in its mountains, possessed no means to act offensively against British India, and was therefore in a double point of view important to it.

The other states of Central Asia are of much less importance to India than the two last mentioned. Beeloochistan is inhabited by a predatory people, who rob every traveller, make plundering expeditions into the neighbouring territories, and carry on continual wars between their different Kheils or tribes. The native of Beeloochistan, like the Arab and the Turkoman, is always on horseback, and the country might therefore raise a considerable body of cavalry, if their own dissensions did not prevent it. The nominal chief of this extensive country is the Khan in Kelat, who possesses a kind of feudal authority, but is so imperfectly obeyed by his vassals, that he is almost without power. It is evident that Beeloochistan, in such a state, is incapable of undertaking anything

against the British possessions in India; it is besides separated from them by the Soliman chain of mountains, the river Indus, and the extensive dominions of the Ameers in Sinde.

Koondoos has, during the last twelve or fifteen years, considerably increased its power by conquests, which its present sovereign, Mahomet Moorat Beg, has made in Budukhskan, Kholum, and Balkh, &c.; so that it includes now all the northern side of the Hindoo-Koosch, and extends to the valley of the Oxus. Its military force is not, however, more than 20,000 undisciplined cavalry, without infantry, and therefore of but little consequence against India, from which Koondoos is besides separated by the great chain of the Hindoo-Koosch.

Next to Koondoos we find, to the east of the Oxus, Bokhara (the ancient Transoxiana), with Samarcand, a tributary to it; a fertile country, but surrounded with sandy deserts, and inhabited by a fanatic Mahomedan people. Bokhara, governed by Usbeck Tartars, is the emporium for the trade between western and Chinese Asia. Its army consists of 22,000 cavalry, 4,000 infantry, and 40 field-pieces, badly served; and is so much the less capable of undertaking anything against India, as the disposition of the people is rather peaceable than warlike

To the west of the Oxus, between that river and Persia, we find the nomade tribes of Turkomans and of Kurds, who, although capable of predatory incursions into the dominions of their neighbours, cannot

undertake a war against so distant a country as India. Their forces consist of numerous, but undisciplined cavalry.

At the mouth of the Oxus, on the shores of Lake Aral, lies the Khanat of Khiva (called also Orgunje),* a fertile oasis, surrounded by sandy or salt deserts. The whole of its military force consists of 10,000 cavalry, which, if even joined by the Turkomans, over whom the Khan of Khiva exercises a great influence, would nevertheless be unable to effect anything against India.

The short sketch here given of the central countries of Asia, though only a general outline, will be sufficient to show, that none of them is capable, alone, of undertaking anything against British India; an union among them is not probable, as both political and religious antipathies would prevent it. It is consequently not from them that India has anything to fear; it is to the north of these countries that the power is to be sought, which alone could carry on a war against India: this power (Russia) is consequently that, to which we must now direct our attention.

The powerful emperor who now so vigorously guides the helm of that empire, has, during the few years he has filled his exalted station, gone through a whole series of political storms, all of which he has victoriously overcome.

* General Murawief, who, in the year 1820, was sent on a political mission to the Khan in Khiva, has published a work, which contains the best information respecting this country.

After having first, within his own dominions, destroyed the hydra of rebellion, the Persian war began, which ended with planting the Russian eagle on the banks of the Araxes, and on the summit of Ararat. The Turkish war, following shortly after, ended in Adrianople on the other side of the Balkan, hitherto considered impassable, and gave to Russia the command of the Black Sea and the mouths of the Danube. The Polish war ended in Warsaw, and advanced the Russian basis of operation near the Oder, to the very heart of Europe; and the hostilities between Turkey and Egypt (in 1833) procured to Russia the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessy, which opened for her ships of war, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, while these straits are closed to every other nation. All this is accomplished in little more than twelve years, and has increased the political influence of Russia, as well in Europe as in Asia, so that an expedition against India may now come at least, within the range of *possibility*.

It is from this new point of view that the position of central Asia must now be considered.

The conquest of India has long been a general subject of conversation, and a fervent desire among the nations of Central Asia, as well as among their northern neighbours; the powerful empire whose territory extends from Lapland to China. This desire, founded on the recollection of former successful conquests (however promising it may appear to the

common mind) will hardly be entertained by any statesman without mature consideration; he will perceive the difference between the past, and the present time, and will see the thousands of local, and of political hindrances, which would now oppose such immense an undertaking.*

The armies which formerly conquered India, Mahmud's (of Ghuznee), Tamerlane's, and Nadir Shah's, were composed of only light cavalry, and therefore free from all that baggage which usually encumbers a European army, and which at least, in respect to artillery and ammunition, is now absolutely necessary, in order to be able to compete, on the frontiers of India, with an army organized in the same manner. Armies, consisting as formerly entirely of light cavalry, were able to cross the

* Many plans for the conquest of India have been formed. Potemkin, and the Prince of Nassau-Siegen (the same who commanded the Russian fleet at Svensksund), formed such plans for Catharine II. The Emperor Paul also entertained such an idea; but they were partly formed without the necessary knowledge, and partly under circumstances so very different from the present, that they are now no longer worthy of attention. General Gardanne, Napoleon's ambassador at the Persian court, also laid down a plan which is said to have fallen into the hands of the Russian army during the campaign of 1812, but neither is that suited to the present state of Asia.

The very able and active General Staff of the Russian army (especially General Yermolow and Field-Marshal Paskewitsch) are better acquainted with the countries of Central Asia and the roads to India than any of their predecessors, and have in this respect nothing to learn.

mountains, and traverse the deserts, which occur every where on the way to India, and perfectly in condition, on their arrival, to contend with an army that met them there, and which was likewise composed only, of irregular troops. The case is now quite different; India is defended by an army organized in the European manner, well disciplined, and supplied with an excellent artillery, which cannot be attacked, with the slightest hope of success, by any other force than one formed in the same way. The question is, therefore, whether such a force, can possibly advance through the extensive sandy deserts, and over the cloud-capped mountains, which separate India from Central Asia; and this is the question we propose briefly here to examine.

Though the Indus, which forms the north-west boundary of Hindoostan, has a course of above 900 miles from the Himalaya mountains to its mouth, there are only *three* ways by which an army, organized in the European manner, can advance from Central Asia to that river. These ways are:—

1st. That which leads from the provinces of Fars* and Kerman, along the eastern coast of the Persian Gulf, through Beloochistan, to *Sind*, at the mouth of the Indus.

2nd. The great road which passes through Mus-ched, Jeerbuk, Herat, Kandahar, Ghuznee, Cabul, and Peshawar, to *Attock*, on the Indus; and,

* Shiraz is the principal town in the province of Fars.

3rd. That which, following the course of the Oxus, goes to Koondoos, and thence over the Hindoo-Koosch to Cabul, Peshawar, and Attock.

Between the last-mentioned road and the central one (through Herat and Kandahar) runs a chain of mountains (the Hindoo-Koosch), always covered with ice, over which there are no roads, and where it is impossible for an army to penetrate.

Between the central road and that along the Persian Gulf lies the sandy desert of Kerman, which extends more than 450 miles from east to west, and 700 from north to south, where no other water is to be found than a few wells, scarcely sufficient for a caravan, where no food can be obtained, and where sandy ridges and deadly winds, form almost insurmountable obstacles to an army organized in the European way, with a train of artillery, &c.

Nearer to the Indus, we meet, on this same road, the Soliman chain of mountains, whose rocky summits, precipices, and torrents, are at certain seasons quite impassable, and in other seasons are so easily defended, that a handful of soldiers might arrest the progress of a whole army.*

With respect to the first of these roads (that along the Persian Gulf), there is only one example on record of an army having followed it, that of Alexander the Great. After his unsuccessful expe-

* See Colonel Pottinger's, and General Sir John Macdonald's Reports, on the Gundava and the Bolan passes.

dition to India, and after having gone down the Indus to its mouth, he turned off at Patula (now Tattah), and marched through Gedrosia (now Mukran, a part of Beloochistan) to his conquests on the Euphrates; and his historians mention the devastation caused in his army by famine and thirst.* Alexander was, however, master of the Persian Gulf, and was accompanied on the left flank by his fleet, under the command of Nearchus, conveying water and other necessaries. This assistance could not be enjoyed by an army marching the same route now to India, the English being, by means of their naval force stationed at Bombay, sole masters of the Persian Gulf, and without such support an enterprise in that quarter would be quite impossible: we see thus that India is perfectly safe on that side.

Let us now examine the most northerly of the three roads which lead from the central countries of Asia to India, namely, that which, following the course of the Oxus,† goes to Koondoos, thence over the Hindoo-Koosch to Cabul, and so farther on to the river Indus.

It is by this road that General Evans, in his work entitled, "Designs of Russia," considers that a Russian army might most easily penetrate to India: let us examine this statement.

* It was in the desert of Mukran that Alexander quenched the thirst of his army by throwing away the water which a soldier offered him in his helmet.

† The Asiatic tribes now call the river Amoo.

A Russian army intended for an expedition against India, starting from the eastern side of the Caspian sea, and following the line of the *Oxus*, must be collected in the government of Orenburg, which already presents considerable obstacles on account of the cold of this northern region, the greatness of the distances, and the difficulty of finding subsistence in this badly cultivated and mountainous province. Three roads lead from Orenburg to Central Asia.

One goes between the Lake Aral and the Caspian Sea, to Orgunje (Khiva), and thence to Bokhara; it is a journey of sixty days for a caravan, and would consequently take at least the same time for the march of an army. The second goes from Troitsk, in Asiatic Russia, through Dutsht-i-Kipchak, or the desert of Kipchak, east of Lake Aral, to Bokhara; a caravan takes forty-eight days to perform this journey. The third road begins at Kuzzuljur, or, as it is also called, Petropawlosk, on the river Issin, and leads to Bokhara in a south-west direction, through Tashkend; this road is a journey of ninety days for a caravan.

All these roads lead through those salt and sandy deserts which separate Russia from Khiva and Bokhara. The great distances, together with the general want of water, sufficiently shows the difficulty of proceeding there with any *considerable* armed force beside Kirghis or Cossack light cavalry.

Messrs. Meyendorf and Eversman, who accompanied the mission of the counsellor of state, Negri,

to Bokhara, have, in their accounts of the journey, confirmed this statement, and mentioned that seven hundred camels were necessary for carrying through the desert the water and provisions for the embassy, which consisted of about 100 persons.

By means of a fleet in the Caspian Sea, an army might be able to turn these deserts; but for this it would be necessary for it, to sail so far as the mouth of the river Attruck, and by this the line of operation would be altered, from that proposed, along the course of the Oxus, to that which goes to Astrabad, and so on to Musched, Herat, &c. Russia has beside not more than eight or ten small corvettes in the Caspian Sea, and the whole of its trading fleet, there, consists of at most thirty or forty vessels, all open; there would, therefore, be no possibility of transporting a considerable body of troops on the Caspian.*

According to the latest examination of the river Oxus (by Alexander Burnes, 1833), it is navigable throughout the greater part of its course, and is free from sand-banks, cataracts, rocks, and whirlpools. If it did not at its mouth in lake Aral become a moor, it would be navigable for the course of 550 miles, and is now navigable for a distance of 460 miles.

* A fleet of transports might possibly be built at Kasan and Astrachan, where there is much timber; but this is a great and expensive business, which requires several years' preparation and labour, and consequently need not be taken into consideration before it is really built. Seamen to man this fleet, would also be needed.

The Oxus is 500 yards broad at the narrowest part; and its depth, during the driest season, is nine feet; at other times, even thirty. A considerable number of vessels may at all times be had, each of which can contain some hundred men; and as the shores are thickly inhabited, well-cultivated, and rich in timber, there are the means to build more. An army, following the course of the Oxus, may thus, with tolerable ease, advance along it as far as to the neighbourhood of Balkh, where an extensive mountainous tract presents itself, which forms a branch of the Hindoo-Koosch (the Indian Caucasus), and the breadth of which, from Balkh to Cabul, is nearly 300 miles. The height of the passes above the surface of the sea is from 8,000 to 12,000 feet, and they are not free from ice or snow except in July, August, and September, and even then are exposed to avalanches, which often bury whole caravans. This mountainous tract consequently presents, if not insuperable, at least very considerable obstacles to the progress of an army.

From Cabul to the Indus, the distance is 210 miles; the first 140 are through a thinly inhabited and rocky country, to the town of Peshawar. The pass of Khyber, through which this road goes, is twenty-five miles long, presents every possible natural hindrance, and is the retreat of the bold Khyber banditti. Peshawar is a flourishing and populous town, situated in a fertile country, the well-cultivated fields of which are watered by canals from the river Cabul. From this

city two roads lead to the Indus. The first to Aitock (seventy miles from Peshawar); the other towards the south, over a branch of the Hindoo-Koosch called the Salt Range, which offer the usual difficulties of high mountainous tracts. This road afterwards follows the right bank of the Indus, crosses it at Kuheree, and thence goes to Moultan; here it divides into two branches, one of which follows the river to Sinde, while the other goes through the sandy deserts of Bikaneer to Ajmeer, and so on, to British India.

The road from Peshawar to Attock is passable even for artillery, but goes through a narrow pass, formed by the river Cabul on the one side, and a high range of mountains on the other, where a small body of troops can stop the advance of a whole army. Such passes are also met with on the road leading over the Salt Range to the river Indus.

We have now shown the natural obstacles to the advance of an army along the Oxus* and over the Hindoo-Koosch to India; besides these, however, there are *political* hindrances, which are of more consequence than the former. A military expedition from Russia to India, pre-supposes that all the countries between them should first be subdued (volun-

* Nadir Shah, on his return from India, transported his army on the river Oxus, which was so much the more easy as he went down the river. It would be quite another thing for an army coming from the north to go up the same, the river being very rapid, and consequently every vessel would have to be towed either by men or horses.

tarily they will never unite with Russia, which is considered, as well by the inhabitants of Khiva as Bokhara, as an hereditary enemy), which makes an operation along the Oxus any thing but easy. It would require at least one campaign to subdue Khiva, one for Bokhara and the Turkoman tribes, and one for Khoondoos. It would consequently not be before the fourth campaign that a Russian army would be able to cross the Hindoo-Koosch to Cabul, &c.

Consequently India seems, for a series of three or four years at least, as safe on this side as on the southern road, along the Persian Gulf. It now remains to examine the third road, namely, the central, leading to India through Persia and Afghanistan.

The geognostical character of Persia is principally that of a table-land, rising gradually, which, at the foot of that chain of mountains which crosses its northern parts (from Astrabad to Mushed), rises 5,000 feet above the surface of the sea.* Its soil is a mixture of salt and sand, dry and barren, without streams, and generally destitute of a supply of water. Within this half wilderness there are certainly some beautiful oases, abounding in all kinds of vegetation, where towns have been founded; but between these an army cannot find anything that is necessary for its subsistence.

The road generally taken from the interior of Persia to Afghanistan goes from Teheran, along the

* Olivier's "Description of Persia."

above-named chain of mountains, and through Astrabad and Musched to the strongly-fortified town of Herat in Khorassan, near the borders of Afghanistan (the distance from Teheran to Herat is 600 miles).

This road presents no insurmountable obstacles to the march of an army; but the above-named difficulties of obtaining subsistence are everywhere met with, which necessarily would oblige an advancing army to separate into small bodies, to obtain the requisite supplies of provisions.

From Herat two roads lead to India; the one goes directly to Cabul, and thence to India (600 miles), but through wild and rocky tracts and passes, defended by such impregnable mountain fastnesses that one cannot reach them except by means of ropes, consequently impracticable for an army. In order to avoid these passes, an army must march from Herat to Kandahar: this road is passable even for artillery. The distance from one town to the other is 300 miles.

From Kandahar two roads lead through Sewestan to India: one meets the Indus at Mittun, the other at Schikarpoor. From Kandahar to Mittun the distance is nearly 400 miles: from Kandahar to Schikarpoor, 460. Both roads pass first over a sandy desert, which, on the former extends 180 miles, and on the latter road more than 300; they both meet the Soliman mountains, the inaccessible passes of which have been described above. On the other side of this chain of mountains, meets another sandy tract,

which extends to the Indus. At Mittun this river (according to Alexander Burnes) is not less than 2,000 yards in breadth, and is besides very rapid, so that the passage, in face of an army posted on the other side, and without the heavy artillery which is necessary to reach and clear the opposite bank, would be very difficult. The retreat of an army coming from the north would be exposed to the greatest dangers, if the passage of the Indus could not be effected. The case is the same at Schikarpoor, where the river is as broad as at Mittun.

In consequence of these circumstances both these roads would offer the greatest obstacles to a force organized in the European manner, an opinion participated by the best authorities, such as Pottinger, Christie, and, lastly, Conolly.

An army destined to act against India must, therefore, seek another road from Kandahar, different from either of the last mentioned. Such a road is found by turning to the north-east from Kandahar, and marching by way of Ghuznee* to Cabul. The distance is 350 English miles. The road is passable even for artillery, though the last half is, properly speaking, a defile between lofty chains of mountains. Provisions may be obtained if the inhabitants are friendly. Even a considerable body of troops might obtain the necessary supplies at Cabul (renowned for its thousand gardens).

* Ghuznee is a strong fortress in the Asiatic style.

The road from Cabul, by way of Peshawar, to the Indus, has already been described.

What has been here said of the roads to India seems sufficient to show that the only possible route, for an army organized in the European manner, is that which passes through Herat, Kandahar, Ghuznee, Cabul, and Peshawar to Attock, on the Indus; it is the road taken by all former conquerors of India, by Alexander, Tamerlane, and Nadir Shah.

Every military expedition, however, undertaken on this road, presupposes, as an indispensable condition, the co-operation of Persia—I say co-operation, for Persia alone is unable to undertake anything of importance against the British power in India. Its infantry and artillery are inconsiderable, its cavalry undisciplined,* and its treasury empty; consequently, it could only be in conjunction with some greater power, and as its vanguard, that Persia could possibly venture an expedition against British India; that

* It is difficult to state, with any degree of certainty, the military force of Persia, seeing that, being always levied for the occasion, it depends on the more or less quiet state of the interior of the country; 60,000 irregular infantry, with 30 or 40 cannon, is the greatest number Persia has had in arms during the last twenty years. The cavalry may amount to considerably more; but, if collected in any great number, it cannot find the necessary supplies. Persia has no regular troops since the corps belonging to Abbas Mirza, which was commanded by English officers, has been dissolved. Two batteries of horse artillery, organized by Sir Henry Bethune, and two battalions of infantry, composed of Russian deserters, are all the regular troops that it now has.

this power can be no other than Russia is scarcely necessary to repeat here.

What is now to be examined, therefore, is, what prospect of success, Russia and Persia united, would have in an expedition against British India.

The capability of the states of Central Asia to withstand the incursions of a regular army, arises less from their riches than from their poverty. The nomade life and miserable dwellings of the inhabitants, which it is not worth while to defend, render them inaccessible to a regular army. They bend like a reed before the storm, but do not break; they regain, or more properly speaking, never lose their form. It is but a trifling inconvenience to these people to be driven for some years from their homes, and their removal is of no consequence, except to the conqueror himself, whose means of subsistence are thereby decreased. The difficulty of forming any alliances with them is very great, especially when it is to be accomplished by a nation differing from them in manners, language, and religion, and hated by them so much as all Europeans are; consequently, no safe and rapid march can be made through these countries, where the advancing army, in order to secure her communications, must leave behind it a whole chain of detached corps; provide all the towns on the way with garrisons; and leave at every larger defile, a corps of reserve; circumstances which, in countries so extensive as those between the Indus and the Araxes, would require an immense army and an overflowing treasury.

According to what we have already said of the topographical character of Persia, it presents (excepting a small branch of the Hindoo-Koosch—the Paropamesian) only sandy deserts, with here and there some fertile oases. In these an army may certainly obtain supplies, but cannot, without the greatest difficulty, transport them through those extensive tracts which separate them, and where neither provisions nor water are to be had.

For an army coming from the north, these difficulties of obtaining subsistence commence already in Georgia, where the supplies for so small a force as 20,000 men,* (the greatest that has ever been collected there,) must be brought from Odessa, Sebastopol, or Azoff, with great expense, over the Black Sea.† The difficulties of obtaining provisions increase

* According to a despatch addressed to the Court of Directors of the East India Company by Sir John Macdonald, Field Marshal Paskewitch told him, that it would be impossible to support more than 20,000 men in Georgia and the neighbouring countries.

† Klaproth, who is well acquainted with Persia, and particularly with Caucasia and Georgia, gives, in his work on these countries, some statements respecting the difficulties which hinder the progress of a Russian army on the other side of the Araxes, which are worth quoting.

"A Russian army," he says, "which advances into the Persian territory, leaves at least 120,000 well-armed Caucasians in its rear, besides the whole population of Georgia, only waiting for a good opportunity to revolt, and, lastly, the Mahomedan tribes in Karabagh, Chirvan, and Daghestan, always ready to shake off the yoke of the infidels. Since Russia has extended its possessions

the further we proceed into the interior of Asia, and are probably at last, on the borders of Afghanistan, almost insurmountable. An army marching through Persia might certainly prevent a part of these difficulties, if it divided itself into smaller bodies and advanced *par étapes;* but then it must be perfectly sure of Persia's very uncertain friendship, and, at all events, join again in one body, on approaching the enemy, in order not to be beaten *en détail.*

After having overcome the difficulties met with in the sandy deserts of Persia and Khorassan, others of the same kind, not less considerable, present themselves on the march from thence to Kandahar.

The question would be, at Kandahar, which road the advancing army would take; whether, one of the two roads that lead in a south-western direction from thence, to Mittun, or to Schikarpoor, on which roads it would encounter the same obstacles as in the sandy deserts of Persia and Khorassan (espe-

beyond the Caucasus it has been obliged to maintain a numerous army in the conquered provinces. This army being unable to obtain sufficient provisions in these countries, it is necessary to send them in great quantities, over the Black Sea, and across the Caucasian mountains, by roads generally impassable for carriages. All necessaries for the arming and clothing of the troops are carried in the same way to Georgia. Hence it may be judged how expensive the possession of these provinces must be to Russia. An army of 40,000 men is scarcely sufficient to check the warlike tribes of the Caucasus and the inhabitants of Georgia, who seek every opportunity of plundering the country, and making slaves of the inhabitants.

cially want of provisions and water); or the road which leads from Kandahar, by way of Cabul and Peshawar to Attock, on the Indus. It would probably choose the latter, which, in fact, is the only practicable one; but on this route the invading enemy would meet great impediments of another kind (especially between Cabul and Peshawar), namely, abysses, avalanches, and ravines, all which would offer very serious hindrances to an army organized in the European manner.* The change of tempe-

* Should, on the other hand, an Anglo-Indian army ever attempt a warlike expedition against Afghanistan, it would no doubt have to contend, not only on the road from Mittun, or from Schikarpoor to Kandahar, or from Attock to Cabul, with the same local difficulties as a Russian army marching from the north towards the Indus: there would, however, be the following differences between the two enterprises, viz.—

1. That the line of operation of the Anglo-Indian army, from the basis of its operation, the Indus, from whence it can easily obtain all its supplies, is considerably shorter than the line of operation of a Russian army from its basis of operation, which cannot be considered to be nearer than the Araxes, or even the Black Sea.

2. That the Anglo-Indian army's means of conveyance (consisting of elephants, camels, &c.) are much greater than those of a Russian army.

3. That the Anglo-Indian army (not alone the part of this army consisting of natives of Hindoostan, but also that part consisting of natives of England), is much more accustomed to hot climates, and to marching in the sandy deserts of Southern Asia, than a Russian army can be. And,—

4. That the Anglo-Indian army would meet no difficulties in crossing the Indus, as it commands the navigation of that river,

rature between these cold mountain tracts and the burning heat on the plains of Persia, just before crossed, would also be very injurious to the health of a foreign army. But the difficulties an army coming from the north would have to encounter in its march to India would not cease on its arrival at the Indus. After having crossed the Indus, if at the upper part, it enters the Punjab (the kingdom of Lahore), a marshy country, intersected by five great rivers of very difficult access; crossing the Indus at the middle part, it finds the sandy desert of Bikaner, with want of water and of supplies; and if the passage be made at the lower Indus, the country of *Sind* presents equally great difficulties: it is but after having surmounted all those difficulties, that the conqueror would arrive at the real *British dominions,* where the burning sun of India would be equally fatal to the soldiers of a northern people as the ice and the cold of Russia was in 1812 to those of France and Italy.

From these various data it may be concluded how very large that army must be, which, after having

whereas the difficulties would be very great to any other army not possessing those means.

From what has been stated above, it necessarily follows, that an Anglo-Indian army's operations against Afghanistan would be subject to great difficulties,* but not to be compared with the difficulties a Russian army would have to encounter on its march to India.

* The last campaign in Afghanistan proves how right the author is.—*Translator.*

secured its communications with the necessary corps of reserve along the whole distance of 2,000 English miles, which separates the Araxes from the Indus,* could arrive in sufficient strength at the latter, to engage there with the Anglo-Indian army, which, amply supplied with all necessaries of war, might amount, with its subsidiary forces, to no less than 100,000 men, besides an equal force in reserve beyond the Sutledge and the Loony.

With regard to the possibility of Persia's being able, when united with the above-named northern power, to gain allies on the way to India, the case seems briefly as follows:—

The Afghan tribes † hate the Persians, as well from

* From Attock to Calcutta (by way of Delhi, Agra, &c.) the distance is about 1,500 English miles. The whole distance from the Araxes to Calcutta may consequently be estimated at 3,500 English miles, and 1,000 miles more to the basis of a Russian military operation, at Odessa, the Kuban, or Astrachan.

† The Afghans call themselves "Bin i Israel," or children of Israel, but consider the name of "Yahoodee," or Jew, as a nick-name. According to their historical records they affirm that Nebuchadnezar, after the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem, removed them to Bameean (the present Cabul). They were called Afghans, after their leader, Afghana, who was a son of the uncle of Asof (Solomon's vizir), who was the son of Berkin. This person's pedigree is derived from a collateral branch, his own father being unknown, which is not at all uncommon in the East. They say that they lived as Jews till Kaleeb (who obtained the title of Caliph), in the first century of the Mahomedan era, called on them to take part in the war against the infidels. For these services the Caliph gave their commander, Kysee, the title of Abdoobrusheed, which means the Son of the Mighty,

political as religious motives, the former on account of the frequent wars with each other and the usual enmity prevailing between neighbouring states; the latter because the Persians are schismatic Shias, while the Afghans are orthodox Sunnites. Nor is it probable that these nations will inconsiderately let a foreign military force penetrate into their mountainous and easily-defended country, which is to Asia what Switzerland is to Europe.*

and appointed him " Butan" (an Arabic word), or head of his tribe (answering to a clan in Scotland). It is from this title of Butan that the Afghans were called, in India, Patans.

After the campaign under Kaleeb the Afghans returned to their native country, and were governed by a royal race, descended from Kyanee, or Cyrus, till the eleventh century, when they were conquered by Mahomed, a Turkoman prince, who, after having first established his power in Ghiznee, conquered a great part of India, and founded the Afghan kingdom, which continued till Baber, a descendant of Tamerlane, founded the Mongol empire.

The features of the Afghans very much resemble those of the Jews; they themselves say that they are descended from them, although they despise the present race of Jews, and consequently would not assert this origin if it were in the least doubtful. They indeed yet follow the Mosaic law in several essential points, such as that the younger brother, after the death of the elder, shall marry the widow.* As, according to the Old Testament, some of the tribes of Israel emigrated to the East, it is possible that the Afghans may be their descendants, who, in the sequel, embraced Mahometanism.

* The reason why the Afghan princes in Cabul and Kanda-

* See more on this subject in the History of the Afghans, by Neamul Ullah, translated by Dorn, as also in Alexander Burnes's Travels.

Should, however, contrary to all expectation, such an alliance be accomplished, to which the ambition of Dost Mahomet in Cabul, and the weakness of his brother in Kandahar, might possibly contribute, the natural consequence of this alliance would be that Runjeet Sing, in Lahore, who is already at open war with Dost Mahomet in Cabul, and whose people (the Seiks) consider the Afghans as their hereditary enemies, would join the British Government*—a circumstance which would alone be sufficient to check an enemy marching against India, for more than one campaign, if it did not completely defeat the undertaking.

Runjeet Sing has, besides, more to gain by an alliance with England than by one with her enemies. An alliance with the former might possibly obtain for him the fertile provinces of Cabul and Ghuznee, so conveniently situate to be united with his former conquests, Peshawar and Cashmere; while a union with the enemies of England, even after the greatest success, could not give him more than the desert plains, between the Sutledge and Delhi, which are not

har do not, in the present war between Persia and Herat, assist the latter, is, that the Sultan in Herat (Kamran) is a son of the deposed King of Cabul (a descendant from the Sudozian dynasty), while the princes in Cabul and Kandahar are sons of the vizir who deposed the above-named king, and that Kamran murdered their brother, Futtee Khan.

* This was written in Sweden in the year 1838, about the time when the Hon. W. Osborne concluded his treaty with Runjeet Sing, at Lahore.—*Translator.*

by any means tempting to him. It is for these reasons that the British Government may depend upon Runjeet Sing's friendship, and can hope to conclude a nearer alliance with him.

The government in Calcutta would, however, act the most wisely by deciding the question beforehand, as well with Runjeet Sing as with the Ameers in Sind, and before the army, which may be approaching from the north, comes nearer its territories. Either with or without the consent of those states, the British power in India must advance to the Indus, which forms its natural boundary on the north-west, and the proper basis for the operations of its armies.*

Besides the above-mentioned immense obstacles, with which an army coming from the north would have to contend on her march to India, the following circumstances ought also to be taken into consideration, namely:—

1st. That the mountain-tracts which present themselves on the way to India (the Hindoo-Koosch, or branches thereof,) are not passable during the *winter* (on account of avalanches, falls of snow, storms, &c.) That the sandy deserts (of which there are so many in the way)† cannot, without great difficulty, be passed

* All this has been done since the author wrote these lines.—*Translator.*

† In case the army should follow the above-described common caravan road from the north of Persia to India, namely, that which goes from Tabreez (Taurus) by way of Teheran, Astrabad, Musched, Herat, Kandahar, &c., the greater sandy deserts are certainly avoided; but several of less extent are met with,

in the summer; which together, would render it a difficult problem for the commander of an army to solve, how he should direct his march, so as to arrive at the proper season, in each of the several countries laying on his road.

2nd. That the geological conformation of Central Asia, with great chains of mountains on one side and extensive sandy deserts on the other, leaves no other opening, (as is shewn above,) than the road that leads from Herat, to Kandahar, Cabul, Peshawar, and Attock, on the Indus. That this road, especially from Ghuznee to Attock, forms one continued defile of 466 miles in length,* through which an army cannot penetrate otherwise than in a single column, and consequently cannot form a *basis for its operations;* the danger of which is shown, among other instances, by the mournful issue of Napoleon's expedition to Moscow on a single road.

3rd. That in those extensive sandy deserts, which lie on the road to India, it is impossible for horses to draw the heavy artillery and its ammunition, required for the taking of the fortified towns on the road

namely, one between Tabreez and Teheran, one between Astrabad and Musched, one between Musched and Herat, and several on the other side of Herat, which, together, make more than thirty days' march in the desert. Besides the road between Teheran and Astrabad passes through the marshy and very unhealthy province of Mazanderan, where the bivouacs would have the most lamentable effects on the health of the army.

* From Ghuznee to Cabul, 250 miles; from Cabul to Attock, 210 miles; in all 460 miles.

(among which is Herat), and scarcely possible for horses to draw the larger field-pieces, which are necessary for a conflict with the numerous artillery of the Anglo-Indian army. That the camel is as incapable as the horse, of conveying larger pieces. That there is, therefore, scarcely any means by which heavy cannon can be conveyed through these deserts. That coming in the Afghan mountain-passes, with their hard and stony paths, the camel is useless; and that the sandy deserts which again occur near the Indus, or on the other side of this river (especially that of Bikaner), require again either camels or elephants,* neither of which can be had in sufficient number by an army coming from the north.

4th. That the financial sacrifices, indispensable for an expedition on so great a scale in Central Asia, together with those to which it would lead in Europe, might possibly exceed the resources of the only power that could venture on such an undertaking.

5th. That the Anglo-Indian army's line of operation, against Persia and the other West and North Asiatic powers, is considerably shorter and much more advantageous than the line of operation of those powers against India, on account of the command which Great Britain has of the Persian Gulf, and by which it can send troops from Bombay, not only to Bushire (Abuschir) in Persia, but also up the Tigris

* We have seen above, that the Anglo-Indian army possesses 3,000 elephants and 40,000 camels in the establishments formed for the purpose.

to Bagdad, one of the most important provinces of the Turkish empire.*

That a British force, thus brought from India, can from Bushire easily support one of the pretenders to the Persian crown, and hereby considerably shake the new Shah's still tottering throne.

That such a force may, from Bagdad, either support the Sultan against Persia or against Russia, or also, united with one of the enemies of the Sultan (for instance, the viceroy of Egypt, whose army in Syria is on the Euphrates), carry its arms to the very heart of Asiatic Turkey; according to the side which England might take, in the changing combinations of European politics, into the labyrinth of which I shall here not attempt to penetrate.

In the first case, (if England were in alliance with the Sultan,) an Anglo-Turkish army, assembled at Bagdad, might extend its operations to the not very distant Erivan, to Georgia, and even to Circassia, now in a state of open war with Russia: this is an undertaking of a less extravagant nature than it appears to be, when we recollect that an Anglo-Indian army went in 1801, under the command of General Baird, from Calcutta to Cossier, (on the Red Sea,) marched thence to Cairo, and united with General Abercrombie's

* English steam-boats, under the command of Colonel Sheriff and Captain Lynch, have lately gone from the Persian Gulf, as well up the Tigris to Bagdad, as up the Euphrates to Hit, beyond the ruins of ancient Babylon. Both the rivers were found navigable even for large vessels.

army, which had arrived from England, and obliged the French to restore Egypt to Turkey, after having performed a distance, between Calcutta and Cairo, *three times as great* as that between Bombay and Bagdad. Whereas in the second case, an Anglo-Indian army (if it co-operated with the viceroy of Egypt) might easily proceed up the Euphrates, and march to Aleppo, Adana, and Mount Taurus. Such an expedition is then, without doubt, in the bounds of *possibility*, but history records only one single conqueror, who, by means of a great *offensive* movement, knew how to keep off a dangerous *defensive* from his own country, and even He,—found a Capua and a Fabius Cunctator.

With regard to an armed demonstration from Bombay, to Bushire, &c., it would not, it is true, in a *direct* way hinder the Shah's operations against Herat, for the distance is too great (800 miles), and the country between Bushire and Herat little else than a continued desert; but *indirectly* it might cause a powerful diversion, and oblige the Shah to think rather of his own safety than of his distant and dangerous expedition against Khorassan.*

What has been here said respecting the possibility of a warlike expedition along the Persian Gulf, to Bagdad or to Shiraz, is only intended to prove that

* It is evident from these observations, that the work was written before the news arrived either of the British expedition to Bushire, or of the raising of the siege of Herat: both had, however, been foreseen by the author.—*Translator*.

the Anglo-Indian army's line of operation, against Persia and the western and northern Asiatic powers, is considerably shorter, and much more advantageous, than the line of operation of these powers against British India.

The views developed above, as to the possibility of a warlike expedition against British India, may perhaps lead to the following conclusions, namely:—

1st. That none of the several states of Central Asia can *alone* effect any thing against British India; that a union among them is not probable, as both political and religious causes prevent it;* that it is, therefore, only to the north of these states that that power (Russia) is to be sought which could place itself at the head of an expedition against India.

2nd. That the geological conformation of Central Asia, which, on the road to India, presents on the one side the Hindoo-Koosch,† with its several branches,‡ and on the other extensive and wild sandy deserts,§ does not permit an army, organized in the European way, to advance by any other road than that which leads through Herat, Kandahar, Ghuznee, Cabul, and Peshawar, to Attock, on the Indus; that an army so

* The Persians are of the sect of the Shiahs; the people of Turkistan, Bokhara, Kurdistan, Khiva, Afghanistan, &c., are Sunnites, who most cordially hate and despise the former, as those do the Shiahs.

† The Indian Caucasus.

‡ The Paropamesian, Bameanian, Solimanian, &c.

§ Those of Kirman, Mukran, &c.

advancing by a single road cannot obtain *a basis for its operations against India,* a circumstance which must always expose it to much danger.

3rd. That an enemy approaching by this road must, in the first place, be perfectly sure of Persia, and besides, on advancing farther, be supported as well by the Afghan tribes as by Runjeet Sing in Lahore—a union difficult to bring about, and without which every undertaking against British India must fail.

4th. That the retreat in such a case, through the sandy deserts and the tremendous mountain-passes lying behind, would be attended with the greatest dangers.

5th. That the distance between the *Araxes* and the *Indus** cannot be passed by a European army in less than two campaigns (even should the resistance on the road be inconsiderable or none); that the distance between *Orenburg* and the *Indus* (*via* Khiva, Bokhara, Koondoos, and Cabul) cannot be passed in less than four campaigns, a space of time sufficient to form, in Europe, such political combinations as might possibly put an end to the expedition.

6th. That want of water and provisions in the sandy deserts lying on the route, the great natural

* Between Erivan on the Araxes and Attock on the Indus the distance is about 700 fursukhs, equal to about 2,000 English miles, *via* Tabreez, Teheran, Astrabad, Musched, Herat, Kandahar, Cabul, and Peshawar, the only route possible for a European army.

obstacles in the mountainous tracts, the destructive effects on the health of the army from the difference of temperature in the former and latter, the difficulty of taking sufficient heavy artillery, and, lastly, the greatness of the distance, prevent the advance of a *great army*; and that a *small army* cannot effect any thing on its arrival at the Indus, against the superior British force there stationed, which, amply supplied with the necessaries of war, can compete, as well in discipline and skill, as in bravery, *with any army in the world*.

7th. That if, contrary to all expectation, so distant an expedition should really take place, its failure would be more than probable, and the difficulties of the retreat be in proportion to the extent of the advance made, that is, would increase in the same ratio as the latter.

Independent of these *positive* difficulties, which hinder a military expedition against India, *the negative ones* ought not to be forgotten, viz., that the Anglo-Indian army's line of operation against Persia and the West and North Asiatic powers is much shorter and considerably more advantageous than that of these powers against India.

Thus, then, British India seems to have nothing to fear from an invasion by foreign armies, so long at least as tranquillity can be maintained in the interior of the empire; but in case, at a more or less distant period, this tranquillity should be disturbed by any

considerable internal convulsion, the attack of an enemy from without might perhaps be attended with some danger, —*but not till then.*

The way to produce such a convulsion within the bosom of the British empire in India, would be either to conquer by degrees, one after another, those states which lie on the route; to spread and exaggerate the reports of such conquests, and to excite those causes of fermentation already existing there; or, what would be easier, merely to stimulate, by political influence, the hostile sentiments of those states towards British India; to inflame the desire, which they have cherished for centuries, to make conquests in that country; to organize their forces in the European manner; and, when the time is come, to give military leaders to their armies, and direct their strategical operations against India; thus to follow the counsels of *Karamsin*, that profound and eloquent Russian historian, who expresses himself as follows:—

"The object and the character of our foreign policy has invariably been to seek to be at peace with every body, and to *make conquests without war,* always keeping ourselves on the defensive, placing no faith in the friendship of those *whose interests do not accord with our own, and to lose no opportunity of injuring them without ostensibly breaking our treaties with them.*"

These enterprises in Central Asia are, in the mean time, of a very dangerous nature to the peace of Europe, because they change those central countries of

Asia, before almost indifferent for European politics, into an arena of opposing interests, into a field, where the greatest military, and the greatest naval power, may come into collision, which, even should the *material* contact between them not take place, might possibly, by the *political,* kindle a general war in Europe.

Such a war, with the inflammable elements existing in this part of the world, would be the more serious, as it might easily pass from conflicting *material interests* to that of *political principles*—the most dangerous of all!

If we dare to express some general reflections on the Government of India, it is—

That the powerful empire established by Great Britain on the continent of Asia, and established principally *by force of arms,* cannot be maintained there by any other means than justice and prudence, *supported by force of arms.* That this force of arms, reduced (especially by Lord William Bentinck) from 291,000, in the year 1827, to 185,000, in 1834, is no longer in proportion to the gigantic size of the empire, to the heterogeneous nature of its constituent parts, and to the federative character of its composition; wherefore the golden rule seems too much neglected—*Si vis pacem, para bellum.*

That the measures of the Indian Government ought to have more the character of *stability* than that of *movement,* be suited more to the ideas of an *Oriental* population than to those of an *Occidental.*

The first will quiet the millions of India, the second will frighten them, as interfering with their mental repose. In America, go rapidly, it is a youthful country, with no history and no social classification; in Europe, where new ideas are blended with old, go less rapidly; but go slow in Asia—she is ancient, and has a long line of great ancestors.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.

From the remote era, when the light of civilisation first dawned on the banks of the Ganges, to the moment when some of its rays have reached an opposite hemisphere, on those of the Ohio and the Mississippi, more than fifty centuries have passed away, and yet the larger half of the globe is still immersed in ignorance and darkness. In this long succession of ages, civilisation seems rather to have changed her abode than to have extended her empire; and where she once flourished in splendour, with her attendants, commerce, industry, and wealth, we now find nothing but desolation and ruins. Palmyra, with her thousands of broken columns, stands solitary in the desert; so do Persepolis and Babylon; and where Thebes and Memphis once reared their gigantic monuments, the wanderer finds now no other refuge than the lonely hut of the Bedouin. But, instead of the fallen cities in the East, we see new ones springing up like mushrooms in the West! Albany, Mobile, Cincinnati, &c. They do not equal, it is true, the grandeur of those that are fallen; but the way is opened, time is unbounded; and who knows whether

a Carthage may not arise on the Hudson, a Tyre on the Amazons?

Does not Europe itself present the same melancholy spectacle of fallen greatness and vanished civilization. See the classic land, where Plato stood surrounded by his disciples, Demosthenes by his hearers, Phidias by his master-pieces; it has been plunged for centuries in darkness! See the magnificent shores where Constantine erected his capital; its triumphal arches are fallen, its hippodrome is a slave-market; and where St. Chrysostom, under the dome of St. Sophia, taught the sublime doctrine of the Redeemer, Islamism alone is heard. See the romantic palace of the Alhambra, how it bears witness to the former civilisation of the Moors, their love of the arts, and their chivalry; but what are the Moors now? barbarians; and the palace of the kings of Grenada is desolate. Rome itself, the Eternal City, fallen from her double supremacy, the temporal and the spiritual, is now but the tomb of the one, and the shadow of the other.

Thus have light and darkness alternated with each other, in the same manner as life and death, creation and destruction.

But in this universal change of the material and intellectual world, there remains an exalted and consolatory thought for the human mind; that light, in every stage, has acquired greater brightness through the progress of science; life, a more lofty destination by the revelation of Christianity; crea-

tion, a development greater by the decrees of the Almighty; that each, therefore, has advanced in the road of perfection, and approached nearer to the goal where the mighty enigma shall be solved.

Thus we know that "In the beginning, when God created the heaven and the earth, when the earth was without form and void, and darkness was on the face of the deep, and the Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters," the naked rock alone rose from the abyss; that, after a chaotic night of countless ages, a new period of creation began (in the figurative language of the Holy Scripture, a day of creation[a]), which kindled *vegetable* life, first in the lowest link of the chain, the humble moss, rising in its gradual development to the nobler plants, with the lofty, ever-verdant palm at their head;[b] that, after new successive revolutions, *organic* life began, in its lowest link, the zoophyte, whence it gradually rose to the crustaceæ, the amphibia, and the fish; that after renewed convulsions, which raised the bed of the ocean above the clouds,[c] and cast down Alps into the abysses of the sea, those monsters of the primæval world arose,[d] which have now happily disappeared, but whose fossil remains furnish irrefragable proofs of their existence; that at a subsequent stage, these were replaced by creatures of a higher kind, the *mammalia*; and that finally, in the last of those periods of creation, the noblest work of the Almighty, *Man*, appeared on the earth—and thoughtfully surveyed the Paradise that lay stretched out before him.

But if, in the course of this immeasurable period, there has been a constant development in every succeeding stage, as well of the *material* as of the *organic* creation—if the former has advanced from the naked rock, which "at first stood alone in the waters," to those delightful hills, valleys, mountains, and fields, covered with noble and luxuriant plants which now form the riches of the earth; and the latter has risen from the lowest link of organic creation, to that glorious image of his Creator, *Man*; may not this development, like a Pharos which in the darkness of night shows the way to the distant harbour, inspire us with the cheering hope, that a similar development may take place in the *spiritual* world, and that the heavenly guest who animates our perishable clay will rise higher in every stage of existence, and, drawing nearer to the ideal of perfection, will acquire more and more exalted intellectual power, the noblest of all enjoyments—that which is truly paradisaical; and after having in an ethereal form, more suited to its mental development, traversed, perhaps, the boundless realms of the Universe, and those planetary systems, which are the abode of beings more highly organised than we are, at length attain supreme bliss, absorption into its Divine source.—This is the belief of the Bramin.

NOTES

TO THE

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS.

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[a] With the Lord one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.—2nd Peter, iii. 8.

[b] The tropical nature of all remains of the bygone world, which are found here and there, in the most northern countries, those of the vegetable kingdom being chiefly palms, and those of the animal kingdom such species as are now to be found only between the tropics, (the rhinoceros, tapir, hyæna, &c.,) seem to prove that the temperature of these northern countries, nearer to the pole, was much warmer in the first ages of the creation than it now is, probably like that which now prevails near the equator. It cannot be assumed that an equal temperature ever prevailed in the polar regions and between the tropics, because such a supposition is at variance with the physical laws of our planet. Hence it must follow, that, at the time when the temperature of the polar countries was so high that the palm could grow there, the temperature of the tropical regions must have been greater in proportion, and even so high that the physical organs of man could not endure it. Hence, again, it should follow, that the first abode of the human race must have been in the northern countries, the temperature of which was, at that time, like that of the tropical regions now.* This agrees with the Indian tradition, which affirms that the countries about the

* M. Laurencet, a French writer, as I have been informed, has lately published an essay, maintaining the same opinion, that the polar regions were inhabited before the other parts of the globe.

North Pole, at least in a very northern, or perhaps only a very elevated situation, were the first inhabited, and that it was from them that the first conquerors of India (the Bramins and Ketrys) came. The tradition likewise gives the northern countries names so closely resembling the Scandinavian (*see* page 63), that we may be tempted to believe that these conquerors came from Scandinavia.

Among the Greeks we have Plato, who (on the authority of ancient tradition) affirms that the part of the earth first inhabited was an immense island, *Atlantis*, which island Olaus Rudbeck declares to have been Scandinavia. Without laying too much stress on the arguments of that writer, it is, however, remarkable how well they agree with the above-mentioned geological discoveries, confirming the former higher temperature of the Polar regions, and how well they agree with the Indian tradition.

Recent etymological investigations have shown that the Lapland language is nearly allied to the Lettonian (in Livonia), and this again to the Sanscrit, whence it must follow that the Lapland language must likewise be allied to the Sanscrit, though nobody has yet instituted a comparison between them.

If we combine the similarity between the Lapland and Sanscrit languages with the traditions of the Hindoos respecting their northern origin, together with the position, admissible at least as an hypothesis, that the polar regions were inhabited before the countries nearer to the tropics, we might possibly be induced to conclude, that the Sanscrit was derived from the Lapland language, and that the Hindoos (at least the higher castes) are descended from the first inhabitants of Scandinavia, *viz.*, the Laplanders and the *Dwärfen* (the Dwarfs).

The hypothesis that the polar regions were inhabited earlier than the countries between the tropics, must, however, be restricted to the antediluvian ages; for, with respect to that portion of the human race that escaped that deluge, which has left traces* in

* It appears that in Sweden the direction of the waters was from the north-east to the south-west, as almost all the large boulders (which are evidently the tops of granite rocks, which either still rise in the

every part of the globe, they must have dwelt in one of the most elevated parts of the earth, which would naturally be the first to be freed from the waters that covered a part, or the whole of the earth. Now as the Himmalaya mountains, and the Pamerian table land, are among the most elevated regions in Asia, it seems highly probable that the postdiluvian race of mankind first spread their abodes there, and, subsequently, descended into the lower lands. This supposition, however, is founded on another hypothesis, namely, that the surface of the earth has not undergone, since this deluge, any of those great convulsions, which have raised mountains from the sea and precipitated others to the bottom of it—an hypothesis which cannot be fully proved, as even the two main branches of the Himmalaya, the Thibetan and the Hindoo, according to the latest geological investigations (Gerard and Jacquemont) are not of contemporaneous origin, but that one is older than the other, a circumstance which occurs likewise in the Alps, the several branches of which, according to Beaumont, did not originate at the same time.

[c] Immense beds of ammonites, and other fossils of marine animals and plants, are found on the Himmalaya, 16,000 feet above the level of the sea, that is, far above the clouds. The same is the case in the Alps.

[d] Ichthyosaurus, Plesiosaurus, Megalosaurus, &c.

vicinity, or are sunk below the surface of the earth) bear manifest traces of having been broken off by a force coming from the north-east, as the smoother surface which the granite exhibits on the side where it is broken off, turns towards that quarter (the north-east). In most places these tops perfectly correspond with a table of rock lying in the same direction.

List of the Manuscript Reports and Memoirs, addressed to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which have been made use of in the Military part of this Work.

General Sir John Malcolm's, Governor of Bombay, Reports to the Court of Directors, dated Laponée, the 4th of July, 1830.

Sir John Macdonald's, late British Minister at the Court of Persia, Memoir to the same, dated 11th of March, 1830.

Memoirs of the following Officers of the General Staff and Engineers, namely:—

Pottinger's, Colonel, on the north-west frontier of India.
Bonamy's, ditto ditto
Seton's, ditto ditto
Alexander Burnes's, ditto ditto
Maxfield's, ditto ditto
Ellis's, ditto ditto
Williams's, ditto ditto
Pottinger's, on Beloochistan and Kelat.
Christie's, on Beloochistan.
Macartney's, on Cabul.
Crow's, on Hydrabad and Sinde.
Hamilton's, on the Indus.
Alexander Burnes's, on Cutsch.
——————— Marwar.
——————— Yeyselmere.
——————— the Navigation of the Indus.

List of the Documents and Authors that have been consulted in the course of this Work.

FINIS.